



Title : Impact of racism and new managerialism on  
black female academics in English post-1992  
universities

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IMPACT OF RACISM AND NEW MANAGERIALISM  
ON BLACK FEMALE ACADEMICS IN ENGLISH  
POST-1992 UNIVERSITIES

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Ph.D

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IMPACT OF RACISM AND NEW MANAGERIALISM ON  
BLACK FEMALE ACADEMICS IN ENGLISH POST-1992  
UNIVERSITIES

by

J.V. JOHNSON

A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire in partial  
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
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IMPACT OF RACISM AND NEW MANAGERIALISM ON BLACK FEMALE  
ACADEMICS IN ENGLISH POST-1992 UNIVERSITIES

J.V. JOHNSON

**ABSTRACT**

This thesis focused on the impact of racism and new managerialism on Black female academics in English post-1992 universities. The study explored the extent to which the changing environment of higher education institutions (HEIs) and the ethos and practice of new managerialism had affected the professional lives of Black academic females and how the consequences of new managerialism were being experienced in their daily academic lives.

Semi-structured interviews were used to obtain qualitative data about the experiences of seventeen African and Caribbean participants in English post-1992 universities, mainly from business schools or health and social-sciences faculties. The critical race theory conceptual framework was used as an analytical and interpretive structure for understanding their experiences.

The findings revealed that new managerialism changes contributed to increased levels of racism encountered by these Black female academics. Racism was endemic and embedded within their HEIs and demonstrated in overt and subtle ways, using micro-aggressions, micro-politics and varying agents, ensuring that racism remained rooted and positioned at different levels. Race was more prevalent in these women's' experiences than they had expected.

The study discovered that these Black female academics perceived their progression and development as being negatively affected because of new managerialism practices and the inability of their respective HEIs to formulate and implement effective policies of equality and diversity. The HEIs' neo-liberal policies of fairness, neutrality and meritocracy were experienced as rhetoric rather than practice and as not beneficial to those needing protection.

The findings suggest that HEIs and human resource (HR) departments need more effective equality and diversity policies which incorporate a community diversity mind-set, influenced by the ethical codes of their professional HR body. There is also a need for HEI staff across all ethnic groups to be engaged in conversation, information-sharing and communication about racial issues so that Black female academic racialised work experiences can be improved.

## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Bedfordshire.

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Name of candidate: Janice V. Johnson

Signature: JJOHNSON

Date: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2016

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father who always believed this was possible, my mother who insisted I never give up and to my son who now knows everything is possible with focused and diligent application of effort.

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## LIST of COMMON ABBREVIATIONS and ACRONYMS

Abbreviation	Description
ACFs	African and Caribbean Females
AUT	Association of University Teachers
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CIPD	Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development
CRT	Critical Race Theory
EDI	Equality, Diversity and Inclusion
ECU	Equality Challenge Unit
EO	Equal Opportunity
FE	Further Education
HE	Higher Education
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
HR	Human Resources
HRD	Human Resource Development
HRM	Human Resource Management
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PL	Principal Lecturer



PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
SL	Senior Lecturer
<i>THES</i>	Times Higher Education Supplement
UCU	University and College Union
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates how Black<sup>1</sup> female academics have experienced new managerialism in higher education institutions (HEIs) in England. The study aims to explore their lived experiences of new managerialism and how their academic roles and lives have been influenced.

The objective of the chapter is to introduce the study and the structure of the thesis. The chapter is composed of three main sections. The first section provides the context and rationale for the study. The second section states the nature of the problem being investigated and identifies the research questions to be addressed. The final section illustrates the structure of the thesis.

### 1.1 Context and Rationale

#### *1.1.1 Politics and change in higher education*

Higher education (HE) has undergone enormous changes over the last thirty- four years. A critical climate of political, economic and social change coincided with the arrival of the Thatcher Conservative Government (1979-90) in 1979 (Deem and Brehony 2005; Shattock 2008). The 1970s under the last Labour Government (1974-79) had been a decade of decline, as much for universities as for the UK as a whole (Shattock 2008). Although

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<sup>1</sup> According to Saperstein and Penner (2014) being Black means anyone having known Black ancestry. However, I accept that there are many differences between Black people. I use this term inclusively within this study, in reference to people who are descended through one or both parents from Africa or the Caribbean.

Prime Minister Callaghan (1976-79) spoke powerfully about the importance of relating education more closely to the needs of the economy, he was opposed and frustrated by: civil service bureaucracy, lack of party support and the trade unions (Shattock 2008). The Thatcher revolution thus became almost instant and long lasting with a mission to cut government costs and control public finances (Shattock 2008). Universities were one of the first victims of this change, when three days into office, £100 million was removed from the universities' budget (Shattock 2008; Williams et al 2012).

Key to the Thatcher Government of the 1980s was the modernisation of the Government and its institutions, guided by what was described as new public management (Hood 1991; Deem 2006). HEIs were accused of: harbouring "dead wood", lacking in public accountability and "managerial weaknesses" (Land 2006:106). This led to the beginnings of a revolution for reformation of institutional and financial management of (HEIs) along the lines of the private sector (Adcroft et al 2010).

New public management (NPM) consisted of a number of different doctrines, blended and mixed according to institutional circumstances (Hood 1991; Deem and Brehony 2005). NPM principles included a greater emphasis on professional management, explicit measures of performance, a focus on outputs and results and private sector styles of management representing a marriage of kinds between administrative reform and private sector managerialism (Hood 1991; Deem and Brehony 2005; Kok et al 2010). New managerialism therefore became the term used to describe the changes made to public sector management practices and presented as a set of strategic practices to modernise the public sector and increase efficiency, effectiveness and accountability (Randle and Brady 1997; Deem and Brehony 2005; Adcroft et al 2010; Robertson 2010; Brown 2011).

As public sector reform became more evident to HEIs, changes in higher education policies were embedded, efficiency measures imposed and HEIs held accountable (Ferlie et al 2008). Consequently, there has been a shift in academic behaviour where some academic fields particularly in business and management have become less theoretical and more practical in outlook (Starkey and Tempest 2005; Archer 2008; Cheng 2009).

### *1.1.2 Reforming higher education*

Such unprecedented changes have become more evident in the academy and have impacted the way in which HEIs are structured and funded (Newman and Jahdi 2009; Brown 2011). Recent government policy has introduced increased competition from private providers and coupled with the launch of higher tuition fees in 2012, has created greater inter-sector rivalry between HEIs for students (Robertson 2010; BIS 2011; Brown 2011; Boyd 2012; Fanghanel 2012; Alvesson and Spicer 2016). Accordingly, HEIs have had to locate alternative sources of funding as public finance has gradually been withdrawn, impacting their scope to deliver and resulting in a significantly transformed sector (Robertson 2010). HEIs have been forced to reposition themselves in the HE market, selling teaching and research knowledge products to paying customers (students and businesses) for survival, in an increasingly competitive and crowded market place (Boden 2007; White 2007; Newman and Jahdi 2009; Streeting and Wise 2009).

These changes in HEIs have been referred to in various ways including: new managerialism, academic capitalism and academic entrepreneurialism (Deem 2001; Davies 2003; Lorenz 2012). Key developments such as: introduction of student loans; growth of performance indicators and benchmarks; increased information for

students have paved the way for these changes to be manifested, ushering in an era where the academy is being slowly restructured (Morley and Walsh 1996; Brown 2011; Alvesson and Spicer 2016). As the sector transforms, universities and academic lives in turn have become more complex to meet these demands, impacting upon the execution and performance of changing academic work (Barnett 2003, 2005; Kolsaker 2008; Lorenz 2012; *THE University Workplace survey* 2016).

### *1.1.3 Universities in the UK*

In the UK, there are currently 159 providers of higher education in receipt of public funding (Universities UK 2016). There are 132 located in England representing the range of university types from the old traditional elites: ancients, red-bricks and plate-glass to the newer post-1992 HEIs.

#### *Traditional universities*

Traditional university types incorporate the ancients, red-bricks and the plate-glass institutions. Royal Charter established the ancient universities for example, Oxford, Cambridge and the University of St Andrews. The ancients have been in existence for well over one thousand years and are viewed as centres of excellence and scholarly debate, promoting quality in learning, teaching and research (Tapper and Palfreyman 1998, 2002; MacFarlane 2007). The term red-brick described the red clay used to build the University of Liverpool and was subsequently seen as symbolic to many of the civic universities in the early 1900s which included for example the Universities of: Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester. Similar to the ancients, the red-brick institutions were regarded as being focused on research and scholarly discovery. The 1960s saw a doubling of university numbers (from twenty-two to forty-six) with the establishment of those termed as plate-glass universities, for example Keele, Warwick and Aston universities. The architecture of the buildings in this era consisted

mainly of glass, hence the term plate-glass, (Dixon 2006; Tapper and Palfreyman, 1998). Similar to the ancients and red-bricks, their focus was also on research and high quality teaching.

### *New universities*

Until 1992, a binary divide existed in higher education between universities and polytechnics. In universities, staff were expected to undertake research and teach in contrast with polytechnics where research was considered to be less important and subsequently polytechnics tended not to receive research funds (Deem 2006; Shattock 2008). However, that divide was abolished through an Act of Parliament in 1992 (Further and Higher Education Act 1992) enabling polytechnics to call themselves universities in a new rationalisation and expansion of higher education (Kok et al 2010). Nevertheless, post-1992s were still perceived as less research focused and more focused on education of the masses (Henkel 2000).

These former polytechnics were run under a more business-like structure compared to the older universities, their origins implying a background of teaching that is more intensive, mass education and a focus on newer, non-traditional disciplines (Deem 2001, 2006; Shattock 2008). In exhibiting higher levels of productivity and managerial sense than the older universities, the post-1992s provided a structure better suited to responding to the changing and increasingly commercialised higher education sector (Shattock 2008; Newman and Jahdi 2009).

### *University Groups*

Universities in the UK are also categorised as belonging to specific groups dependent on their collective missions and interests, such as the Russell Group, MillionPlus Group or the University Alliance Group. The Russell Group of universities include twenty-four universities and place their focus on being research-intensive and in providing outstanding teaching and

learning experiences (Russell Group 2016). Many of their members are from the older pre-1992 universities. The MillionPlus Group (nineteen members) present themselves as the voice of modern universities, boasting more than one million students and include many of the big city post-1992 HEIs, with a focus on research, teaching and learning as well as being more easily accessible to a wider range of students (MillionPlus 2016). Other groups include the University Alliance, a more diverse group of universities including many post-1992s located in the south; Cathedrals Group of universities, mostly post-1992s having links to Christian churches and the Guild HE, a representative body for HE. However, some universities have no declared affiliation or are members of the Independent Universities Group.

## **1.2 Importance of the Study**

As a result of new managerialism practices being embedded, a shift in post-1992 HEIs has taken place, signalling increased challenges to all academics (Newman and Jahdi 2009). There has been a movement away from independent and critical thought to one where academic freedom is restricted, autonomy curtailed and universities expected to fulfil values reflecting the marketplace and the economy (Archer 2008; Whitchurch and Gordon 2010; Alvesson and Spicer 2016). This era therefore, may be the one in which the role of the academic becomes permanently changed as a result of marketization (Newman and Jahdi 2009).

Consequently, there is growing interest on the impact new public management reforms have had on education as a service that has been significantly affected (Tolofari 2005; Alvesson and Spicer 2016). Academics have been on the receiving end and in the front-line of these changes resulting in alterations to their professional lives and their academic work (Bathmaker and Avis 2005; Kolsaker 2008). In spite of this,

there is paucity of attention paid to the real impact of these reforms and of the attitudes formed towards new managerialism within HE (Hannaghan 2006; Vigoda-Gadot and Meiri 2008; Whitchurch 2009; Alvesson and Spicer 2016; Marini and Reale 2016). Additional questions are raised as to “how widespread is the trend and what are the principal manifestations and implications?” (Whitchurch and Gordon 2010:134).

### *1.2.1 Black female academics*

Despite over four decades of race discrimination legislation there is continued under-representation of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups in positions of power in academia despite new managerialism’s neo-liberalist policies of equity, meritocracy and neutrality (ECU 2009; UCU 2012a; ECU 2015a; Bhopal 2016; UCU 2016). Identifying the impact of new managerialism on Black women in the academy would be a helpful step in improving the understanding of this minority ethnic group from the perspective of their lived experiences in post-1992 higher education institutions.

BME staff constitute part of the invisible workforce under-represented in research in HEIs (Heward et al 1997; Deem et al 2005; Wright et al 2007; Mirza 2008; ECU 2009; Rhoades 2010; Bhopal and Jackson 2013; Bhopal 2016). The term BME is used to include Black (Caribbean, African, other Black background), Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and other Asian background) and other (includes mixed White and Black Caribbean/ Black African/Asian/ other mixed and other ethnic background) (HESA 2016a). There is a paucity of research-based literature which focuses on BME staff within UK universities and very few studies which involve primary qualitative data collection (ECU 2009; Bhopal 2016). Although there is growing research literature on professional women, the position and experiences of minority ethnic groups has been largely



ignored and requires investigation (Heward et al 1997; Deem et al 2005; Wright et al 2007; Mirza 2008; Maylor 2009; ECU 2009; Bhopal and Jackson 2013; Bhopal 2016).

### *1.2.2 Statistical illustrations of BMEs in the academy*

There was a total of 198,335 academic staff employed in UK HEIs in 2014/15 (HESA 2016b). Of this population, 44.98% were female (HESA 2016b). By contrast, the labour force survey indicated a higher participation rate for females (47%) in the UK as a whole (ONS 2015). Table 1.1 illustrates the composition in the academy.

**Table 1.1: Total academic staff in UK HEIs by gender 2014/15**

Academic staff	Number present	Percentage present
Total males	109,110	55.01%
Total females	89,225	44.98%
<b>Total academic staff</b>	<b>198,335</b>	

In this table 0, 1, 2 are rounded to 0. All other numbers are rounded up or down to the nearest multiple of 5. Percentages are not subject to rounding. Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency Ltd 2016b.

In terms of gender, men were more likely to be in professorial and senior positions compared to women as indicated in Table 1.2.

**Table 1.2: Total academic staff in UK HEIs by role and gender 2014/15**

Academic staff	Males		Females		Total	
	Numbers Present	Percentage Present	Numbers Present	Percentage Present	Numbers Present	Percentage Present
Professor	15,065	13.8%	4,535	5.1%	<b>19,600</b>	<b>9.9%</b>
Other senior academic	3,940	3.6%	1,995	2.2%	<b>5,935</b>	<b>3.0%</b>
Other contract level	90,105	82.6%	82,700	92.7%	<b>172,800</b>	<b>87.1%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>109,110</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>89,225</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>198,335</b>	<b>100%</b>

In this table 0, 1, 2 are rounded to 0. All other numbers are rounded up or down to the nearest multiple of 5. Percentages are not subject to rounding. Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency Ltd 2016b.

Staff of known ethnicity in the academy in 2014/15 totalled 181,775 (HESA 2016a). Of this population, 5.49% were BME females (HESA 2016a), representing a slightly higher proportion of BME females in the academy compared to BME females (5%) participating in the UK labour market as a whole (ONS 2016). Table 1.3 illustrates the composition in the academy.

**Table 1.3: Total academic staff in UK HEIs by known ethnicity 2014/15**

Academic Staff	Number present	Percentage present
White male	85,815	47.21%
White female	71,780	39.49%
BME male	14,180	7.80%
BME female	9,980	5.49%
<b>Total academic staff of known ethnicity</b>	<b>181,775</b>	

In this table 0, 1, 2 are rounded to 0. All other numbers are rounded up or down to the nearest multiple of 5. Percentages are not subject to rounding. Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency Ltd 2016a.

The total number of BME staff in the academy was 25,335 representing 13% of total HE academic staff of known ethnicity (HESA 2016a). Black African and Caribbean academics constituted 1.5% of all academic staff of known ethnicity and 10.9% of the total BME staff present in the academy (HESA 2016a). Table 1.4 indicates the BME composition in the academy.

**Table 1.4: Minority ethnic academic staff by ethnicity 2014/15**

Minority ethnic academic staff	Number of minority ethnic staff	Minority ethnic staff as a percentage of staff of known ethnicity	Total African/ Caribbean staff
Black or Black British - Caribbean	775	3.1%	<b>10.9%</b>
Black or Black British - African	1,965	7.8%	
Other Black background	275	1.1%	
Asian or Asian British - Indian	4,680	18.5%	
Asian or Asian British - Pakistan	1,170	4.6%	
Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi	505	2.0%	
Chinese	5,895	23.3%	
Other Asian background	3,510	13.8%	
Other (including mixed)	6,555	25.9%	
<b>Total academic staff</b>	<b>25,335</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	

In this table 0, 1, 2 are rounded to 0. All other numbers are rounded up or down to the nearest multiple of 5. Percentages in this table have been rounded to one decimal place, therefore they may not sum exactly to 100%. Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency Ltd 2016a

The numbers of BME professors were also low compared to White academics. BME females had the fewest staff numbers in professorial and senior management roles compared to White and Black males and White females. However this figure is a slight increase on previous years (HESA 2015a).

**Table 1.5: Minority ethnic academic staff by ethnicity, gender and senior role 2014/15**

Academic staff	Professors		Senior managers	
	Numbers present	Percentage present	Numbers present	Percentage present
White female	4,097	20.9%	1721	29.0%
White male	13,759	70.2%	3911	65.9%
BME female	352	1.8%	53	0.9%
BME male	1,392	7.1%	249	4.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>19,600</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>5935</b>	<b>100%</b>

In this table 0, 1, 2 are rounded to 0. All other numbers are rounded up or down to the nearest multiple of 5. Percentages are not subject to rounding. Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency Ltd 2015a.

HESA's open access data does not provide a breakdown of BME staff by both race and gender simultaneously therefore it becomes challenging to uncover for example how many Black women are present in a given year. This deficiency results in a "serious lack of statistics" in relation to ethnicity (Ouali 2007:3). This absence of serious data negates the diversity of specific minority ethnic groups by homogenising them as groups of men and women sharing the same ethnicity but not allowing the data to be mined further without additional payments made for this service. However having this data is better than being unable to analyse any minority ethnic staff differences (ECU 2009). The situation from the current data looks bleak overall for BME staff as a whole with Black female academics being the least represented minority ethnic group.

### *1.2.3 Motivation for the research*

In completing a master's dissertation in education in 2008, I investigated the barriers to career progression by Black female academics in UK HEIs. My findings revealed that participants felt their role as academics was being undermined and frustrated because of how Black people were

perceived by others (managers, colleagues and students) in the academy (Johnson 2008). Their progression was constrained and other internal HEI factors were affecting their development as academics but scant attention given to their concerns, resulting in frustration, stress and departure (Johnson 2008). They felt this perception worsened the further they progressed in their careers often leading to early exoduses from the academy (Johnson 2008). Even though race and gender were highlighted as issues impacting their progress, further and more in-depth research was identified as necessary to consider the other factors within their work environment impacting upon their ability to progress further.

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

Though much has been written about new managerialism and how it affects HEIs as a whole (Deem and Brehony 2005; Winter 2009; Whitchurch and Gordon 2010) its impact on academic staff is still unfolding and leaves room for additional investigation. Previous explorations of new managerialism in higher education have had a focus on staff (academic and non-academic) in general (for example Randle and Brady 1997; Prichard and Willmott 1997; Barry et al 2001; Deem and Brehony 2005) or specifically on managers and the challenges faced in implementing new measures of accountability and efficiency (see for example, Kolsaker 2008; Clegg 2008; Whitchurch 2009; 2012; Kok et al 2010; Fanghanel 2012). Even though new managerialism has been explored at different levels in the academy (Clegg 2008; Kolsaker 2008; Whitchurch 2009; Kok et al 2010) women and minority ethnic academic groups remain under-theorised in the research (Clegg 2008; Rhoades 2010).

Previous research has referred to the struggles of BME staff as a whole in the academy (ECU 2009; Bhopal and Jackson 2013; Bhopal 2016; UCU 2016). Black women in the academy are doubly disadvantaged because of

both their race and gender not achieving the benefits accrued to White female academics and equality policies formulated around a White male agenda (Mirza 1999; Conklin and Robbins-Mcneish 2006). In claiming identity in the academy, ethnicity needs to be better pronounced (ECU 2009; Arya 2012). To my knowledge, there is no evidence of research focused upon and describing African and Caribbean female academics' lived experiences of new managerialism in the academy. This gap limits our full understanding of the development, manifestation and persistence of new managerialism. There is therefore scope for exploration of the impact of new managerialism upon African or Caribbean female academics including their roles and experiences of progression.

Post-1992 English HEIs have faced social and environmental changes at a far greater pace than the more traditional HEIs (ECU 2009). Many of the changes associated with new managerialism and increasing resistance to it have affected these HEIs much more than the traditional universities (Noblet et al 2006; Hacque 2007; O'Flynn 2007; Williams et al 2012). New universities are particularly important as they tend to attract less government funding for research (HEFCE 2012) and therefore have a different identity and culture to the older universities.

Post-1992s are more relevant in having a greater number of BME academics and a higher concentration of Black female academic staff than traditional HEIs, with some of the more traditional HEIs having no minority ethnic staff in senior positions (AUT 2005; ECU 2009; UCU 2012a; HESA 2015a). In addition, as qualitative data is being sought there are far fewer Black female academic staff in Scotland and Wales (HESA 2015a), making investigating and collecting experiences in those geographical areas more restrictive than in other parts of the UK. It is therefore relevant for the study to focus on participants from post-1992 HEIs in England, providing an opportunity to unearth new information to add to the literature.

Specific staff data was requested from HESA services on the numbers of academic females of African or Caribbean heritage with seven years or more in permanent posts in post-1992 HEIs. The figures provided in Table 1.6 are derived from the sixty-three post-1992 English HEIs from 2006/7 to 2012/13 and demonstrate a steady average of only four African or Caribbean female academics per institution over that period. Although there has been an increase in total numbers over the seven-year period it appears that the increases are balanced by departures resulting in no real change in numbers over time.

**Table 1.6 African and Caribbean academic females in post-1992 HEIs**

Year	Total number of ACFs in post-1992 HEIs	Average numbers of ACFs per post-1992 HEI
2012/13	295	4.6
2011/12	275	4.3
2010/11	275	4.3
2009/10	285	4.5
2008/09	275	4.3
2007/08	265	4.2
2006/07	255	4.0

Provided as a specific request made to HESA Services Ltd as information for personal use. HESA data enquiry 36185. Source: HESA Services Ltd (17<sup>th</sup> July 2014)

### *1.3.1 Purpose of the study*

This study therefore aims to explore and capture the lived experiences of new managerialism from an African or Caribbean female academic's perspective and to analyse how these changes have impacted their lives at work. Two research questions are posed:

1. How has new managerialism been experienced by Black female academics in English post-1992 universities?
2. How has new managerialism influenced the way in which Black women view themselves as professionals in the academy?

The outcomes of this study are expected to make a contribution to the empirical knowledge about Black women's lives in the academy. To fulfil my research questions and in consideration of the deficiency of qualitative information about Black women in the academy (ECU 2009; Bhopal 2016), I intend to use semi-structured, in-depth interviews to gather their experiences.

#### **1.4 Overview and Structure of the Study**

The study is organised in five chapters.

Chapter one has introduced the academic context of HEIs in the UK as well as some of the theoretical and policy context behind new managerialism. This chapter has also provided a brief overview of BME in the academy and identified the problem and research questions that need to be addressed.

Chapter two provides an academic perspective to the study by reviewing the relevant literature around new managerialism and Black women in the academy, drawing upon early as well as recent perspectives and establishing a conceptual framework for the study. The concluding section of the chapter draws together these threads providing context and motivation for the approach taken in the methodology and findings and discussion chapters.

Chapter three is the methodology chapter. The ontological and epistemological approach to this study is discussed along with the research design and methods used. In particular the chapter indicates how a critical race theory framework informs the analysis presented in the following chapter.



Chapter four reports, analyses and discusses the findings of the study, using a critical race theory framework to structure, interpret and make sense of the findings.

Chapter five concludes the study with a review of the study outcomes and discusses the implications for research, policy and practice. The chapter also highlights the limitations of the study; contributions made and recommendations for future research as well as providing final comments. The structure of the thesis is illustrated as Figure 1 below.

**Figure 1.1: Thesis Structure**

<b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION</b> <i>Study context and thesis structure</i>			
1.1 Context and rationale	1.2 Study importance	1.3 Problem statement	1.4 Thesis structure

  

<b>CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW</b> <i>Theoretical perspective</i>			
2.1 New managerialism	2.2 Impact of new managerialism on academic roles		2.3 Section summary
2.4 Race in the academy	2.5 Critical race theory	2.6 Section summary	2.7 Chapter conclusion and study framework

  

<b>CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY</b> <i>Research strategy, design and delivery</i>						
3.1 Research strategy	3.2 Design and collection	3.3 Data analysis	3.4 Ethics	3.5 Reflexivity	3.6 Trustworthiness and integrity	3.7 Chapter conclusion

  

<b>CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS, ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION</b> <i>Presentation, interpretation and sense-making</i>					
4.1 Application of critical race theory	4.2 Permanence of racism	4.3 Whiteness as property	4.4 Interest convergence	4.5 Intersectionality	4.6 Chapter conclusion

  

<b>CHAPTER 5. STUDY OUTCOMES AND CONCLUSIONS</b> <i>Final summary and comments on what has been found</i>					
5.1 Study conclusions	5.2 Limitations	5.3 Implications	5.4 Future research	5.5 Contributions	5.6 Final reflections

The next chapter reviews the literature around new managerialism and race in the academy.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter provides a critical review of the research regarding new managerialism and race in the academy. As discussed in the introductory chapter, the focus for research into UK universities has tended to be on front-line staff in general (academics and administrators) or senior managers. Black women remain largely absent from much of the main stream literature.

This chapter considers the evidence in relation to new managerialism and Black women in the academy. The first section explores and reviews new managerialism and its manifestation in the academy. The second section investigates the literature around race and racism in the academy under new managerialism's neo-liberalist policies and practices and also includes a focus on human resource management. The chapter concludes in a final summary and establishment of the framework to be used in exploring the experiences of Black women further.

### **2.1 New Managerialism**

This section focuses on the emergence of new managerialism as well as some of the challenges it has presented, including its emphasis on efficiencies, students, surveillance, collegiality and its impact on the academic's role and sense of self in the academy.

### *2.1.1 Emergence of new managerialism in the academy*

According to Randle and Brady (1997) the concept of new managerialism emerged in the UK in the early 1980s along with other new management ideas such as total quality management and business process re-engineering. New managerialism was born out of a reaction to a perceived lack of concern for clients and performance outcomes among organisations responsible for the delivery of public services and policy implementation (Verhoest et al 2007). The solution was to adopt private sector performance criteria and practices (Williams et al 2012). Changes in the UK political environment (especially the rise of neo-liberalism), spurred by Margaret Thatcher's first conservative government of 1979, allowed new managerialism to thrive. The belief being that for HEIs' survival and for them to flourish in a volatile environment they must shape their aspirations to the forces within the external environment with a focus on public ends not bureaucracy (Williams et al 2012). The Thatcher administration aimed to reduce dependency on public funds with a shift towards more self-efficiency and sufficiency being created (Deem 2006; Pollitt 1990).

Consequently, HEIs were thereby charged with having to generate greater operating efficiencies, being more accountable, significantly expanding student numbers, ensuring quality and focusing on the overall health of the institution (Robertson 2010). This private sector managerialism was an ideology, which in a soft form was concerned with efficiency at the lowest cost and in a hard form was concerned with reshaping higher education through continual assessment linked to funding (Silver 2009). Adcroft et al (2010: 583) state that:

There was probably never a time in higher education... when academic work was completely unsullied by commodification, competition and managerialism.

A number of authors claim that irrespective of university type (traditional or new) all universities have experienced the effects of new managerialism where the social ideals of education and learning for public good has been overtaken by the need for profitability and survival (Pollitt 1990; Davies and Thomas 2002; Dearlove 2002; Bok 2003; Deem 2006).

Having explored the introduction of new managerialism, the next section attempts to define what it really is.

### *2.1.2 Defining new managerialism*

A number of attempts have been made by a range of authors to define new managerialism. For example, new managerialism is seen as a concept used to describe ideas about changes in the way state funded institutions are managed (Ferlie et al 1996; Reed 1999; Whitehead and Moodley 1999). Flynn (1993) and Farnham and Horton (1993) (both cited in Randle and Brady 1997), view new managerialism as a package of management ideas, techniques and values (including for example, strict financial management and budgetary control) derived from the private sector and applied to public sector organisations. Pollit (1990, 1993) places the stress for new managerialism upon a need for continuous improvements in efficiency via a number of strategies and methods including: a greater use of new technologies; an employee focus on output; an adoption of professional management practices and the rights of managers to manage further to the detriment of academic freedom and autonomy. New managerialism's success would be underpinned by the institution's continuous quest for quality improvement assisted by close performance measurement (Walsh 1995). New managerialism's emphasis appears to be strongly placed upon economic efficiencies through tighter controls and accountabilities (Lorenz 2012).

### *New managerialism is positive*

For new managerialism, several assumptions were made by a number of authors about the practice of management and new managerialism. For example: good management delivers economy, efficiency and effectiveness in public services (Metcalf and Richards 1987); good management did not exist in the public sector before 1979 (Major 1989); and good management was to be found in the private sector (Kirkpatrick and Martinez Lucio, 1995). The prevailing view was that the public sector, including HEI's would gain a lot more efficiency if they emulated private sector firms.

According to Alvesson and Spicer (2016:31), the changes under new managerialism were necessary to, "address the inefficiencies and sloppiness" in a sector that has been too complacent. These different doctrines of professional management, explicit measures of performance, a focus on outputs and results and private sector styles of management, would be blended and mixed according to the specific needs of the public sector institution, seen as a merger of sorts between administrative reform and private sector managerialism (Hood 1991, cited in Adcroft et al 2010). In conforming to ideas and myths about what a good organisation should resemble, HEIs are attempting to demonstrate their strategic vision, their marketing and HRM functions as well as ways in which they are addressing diversity. These changes to add even more functions, increasing performance pressure to HEIs' operations (Alvesson and Spicer 2016).

However, over time new managerialism was characterised by the removal of power from practising professionals. Power being given to others such as auditors, statisticians, policy makers and senior managers, none of whom were necessarily knowledgeable about the profession in question

(Rose 1999, cited in Dawson 2006; Cuthbert 2011). This transfer of power suggested that under new managerialism there has been an emergence of an audit society to track staff compliance (Lapsley 2009).

### *Disbelief in new managerialism*

Along with the decline of traditional university values such as academic freedom, autonomy and collegiality, there has been a longer term decline in the quality of students' education (Alvesson and Spicer 2016). The decline in values taking hold as academic managers exert greater control to manage limited resources such as finance and staff (Alvesson and Spicer 2016). There is an exaggerated belief about the superiority of the private sector with an over emphasis being placed upon efficiency and value for money as well as developing performance measurements that tend to be neither accurate nor precise (Dibben et al 2004; Dent et al 2004). New managerialism is seen as nothing more than faddish and content free (Lynn 1998) and according to Jun (2009:161), is in fact a "craze" reflecting an obsession with "managerial and economic solutions to complex problems". In summary, new managerialism was considered as punishment doled out to the public sector for failing to anticipate and interpret external demands for accountability in meaningful ways (Cuthbert 2011). This punishment was intended as a means of gnawing away at professional autonomy and control (White et al 2011; Lorenz 2012).

Having examined the different ways in which new managerialism has been defined, the next section explores the effects it has had on life in the academy.

### *2.1.3 Manifestations of new managerialism in the academy*

According to Deem (2004), new managerialism changes throughout the 1980s and 1990s, were being referred to in various ways including academic capitalism and academic entrepreneurialism, ushering a slow reshaping of the academy (Morley and Walsh 1996). Since the 1980s there is evidence of a stealthy increase of requirements to document, for example course content, to define teaching and learning outcomes and expanding later into areas such as teaching observation, formalised student feedback, research frameworks and even requirements of academics to document their time (Kolsaker 2008; Alvesson and Spicer 2016). The demand for accountability by relevant stakeholders such as Government and students has been instrumental in accelerating the spread of new managerialism in HEIs (Cuthbert 2011). This accountability being reflected in, for example, the emergence of student charters, league tables of performance and student experiences, was providing an account of how money is being used (Cuthbert 2011).

Under new managerialism, academics were now “functioning within performative systems of accountability embedded in managerialism” (Kolsaker 2008:513). Lyotard (1984, cited in Fanghanel 2012) describes performativity as an approach to management ensuring the best input and output through assessing, comparing and displaying information and performance. Within HEIs, this translates into creating systems and structures that can measure and monitor efficiencies for best performance, ultimately providing visibility and proof (Fanghanel 2012). Consequently, managerialism practices have had a profound effect on academics, not just on what they do, but whom they are, in relation to their academic identities (Ball 2003, cited in Fanghanel 2012).



### *Efficiency pursuits and work intensification*

One of new managerialism's core pursuits is to increase efficiencies in the organisation. This pursuit places primacy on the efficient use of key resources for productivity (Randle and Brady 1997, Deem 2006, Kolsaker 2008). The critical and most expensive resource for the HEI is its academic staff, which must be managed to the best effect to ensure effectiveness and efficiency (Burgess 1996, cited in Graham 2015).

One way in which academics can be managed is to take control of their workload in a way that maximises the outputs from research and teaching (Lorenz 2012; Graham 2015). The academic's time then becomes the primary resource for the university, needing to be managed and accounted for carefully and skilfully (Chandler et al 2002, cited in Graham 2015). In conforming to a performance management agenda, academics are expected to provide regular evidence of the contribution they are making to the business targets (Harley 2002) and to customer satisfaction (Sharrock 2000). However, Alvesson and Spicer (2016) question why there has been so much compliance on the part of academics and so little resistance, inferring that many play the game for promises of "upward mobility" and negotiated reductions in workload (p30).

In an attempt to get more for less from workers, workloads have increased, pressures from managers to generate greater funding has increased and thinking about the nature of academic work has changed to include other types of work (Davies 2003). Thus, the modern academic is increasingly expected to work across four broad domains: teaching, research, scholarly activity and administration in support of the other three areas of work (Harris 2015). *THE* University Workplace survey (2016)<sup>2</sup> revealed that up

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<sup>2</sup> The Times Higher Education (*THE*) survey (2016) covered 150 HEIs and included 2900 staff members from a range of roles to include academic (forty-nine per cent) and other professional and support staff.

to sixty-eight per cent of academic staff claim to work regularly more than sixty hours per week with a few claiming to work up to one hundred hours to include Saturdays and bank holidays without additional remuneration. Graham (2015) furthering that there was a suspicion that female academics did more of the hidden work than their male colleagues, such as personal tutoring, administration or student related in addition to teaching and research. In conceding to heavier workloads and being subject to multiple and sometimes conflicting demands from stakeholders including students, external agencies (for example, employers, society at large) (Ogbonna and Harris 2004), academics often experienced greater levels of stress and even depression (Kinman and Jones 2003; UCU 2012b; Kinman 2014; *THE University Workplace survey* 2016).

Changes to the nature of academic work (for example, teaching quality assessments; research excellence framework<sup>3</sup>; teaching quality reviews) have provided tangible measures of lecturer quality with which managers have been able to further tighten their control over the academic labour process (Ogbonna and Harris 2004; Lorenz 2012). This intensification of work has had a resultant impact upon research and scholarly work with research being sacrificed to meet the daily demands of for example, increased administrations and assessment pressures (Graham 2015). Many of these changes are being promoted as a means of empowerment giving the impression that the academic has greater (delegated) control and authority over their own work, whereas the reality is, additional responsibilities without appropriate time or remuneration (McGrath 2003, cited in Newman and Jahdi 2009).

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<sup>3</sup> The Research Excellence Framework (REF) is the system used for assessing the quality of research in UK higher education institutions. It replaced the research assessment exercise last conducted in 2008 ([www.ref.ac.uk](http://www.ref.ac.uk) accessed 31<sup>st</sup> July 2016)

This move away from academic specialisation with robust professional control towards what has been described as “McUniversities”<sup>4</sup> (Parker and Jary 1995:324) has been likened to having similarities with the mass production arrangements evidenced in automobile manufacturing (see for example, Miller 1991, Parker and Jary 1995; Campion and Renner 1995, cited in Graham 2015; Alvesson and Spicer 2016). However, as a result of the focus on costs, the financial imperative begins to rival the academic rigour (Wood 2007). As class sizes increase and staff numbers are reduced, the issue is not just about delivering to full lecture theatres but also indicates the increasing burden of marking and pastoral care (Cotterill and Waterhouse 1998).

Gibson et al’s (2015)<sup>5</sup> survey of teachers, report what they term as unnecessary and unproductive tasks in education. The results from their survey highlighted for example: level of detail, duplication and bureaucracy in completing tasks that were felt to be unnecessary or unproductive. For example respondents in the survey reported that the recording, inputting and analysis of data and other tasks were not within their areas of expertise yet they were expected to be competent and efficient in completion. Their report revealed other pressures such as volume of work to complete in the time allowed especially in relation to marking; unrealistic deadlines; meetings that were too long or not relevant; too many sources of information to manage (emails, bulletins, virtual learning environments, meetings and so on) and no additional time allocated to manage this increase in work volume. Gibson et al (2015) determined that most tasks are not unnecessary but with so many students and classes

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<sup>4</sup> The term McUniversity is derived from Ritzer’s (1993) discussion of McDonaldisation, where Fordist mass production methods replaced craft skills in organisations.

<sup>5</sup> Gibson et al does not refer specifically to academics in HEIs in the Workload Challenge Report 2015. However, even though their research is located in English schools (primary, academy and secondary) with a focus on classroom teachers and middle leaders experiencing new managerialism changes, the impact is arguably similar to that being experienced in HEIs and makes their findings relevant to this study.

the workload may be observed as unmanageable. Many HEIs therefore, appearing to be, as susceptible as schools to similar pressures (Lorenz 2012; Graham 2015).

The question then arises as to how greater administrative efficiency can be achieved when facing a “demoralised workforce where there is a lack of trust in and commitment to, academia as a whole” (By et al 2008:32). Gaining the support of academics may not be an easy task especially when academics feel managers are using managerialism for their own purposes and future careers (Winter 2009). Academics working under new managerialism conditions are likely to experience low morale, increased stress and job dissatisfaction (Winter et al 2000). Kinman and Jones (2003) and Kinman (2014), concur, stating that the move towards mass higher education without a corresponding increase in resources including administrative support has created stressors on academic staff. A survey undertaken by UCU (2012b) reveals that stress levels in HEIs over the last decade have massively increased, particularly in post-1992 HEIs as a result of the pressure of new managerialism efficiencies.

#### *The student as customer*

New managerialism and its associated ideologies have been instrumental in reshaping the nature of universities making them into producers of commodities (Winter 2009). Consequently, a new type of student is emerging, the student as consumer (Streeting and Wise 2009) or as customer (White 2007) creating a contestable paradigm in HEIs in terms of how they should be treated and the nature of the services to be provided for them (Fanghanel 2012). Understandably, if students are being constantly told they are customers, in their minds they justifiably are with equivalent rights to customers in the everyday market place (Wood 2007). Creating this perception of customers in the students’ minds, changes the

academic's control over the labour process (Du Gay and Salaman 1992; Wilmott 1994; Parker and Jary 1995).

There is a new emphasis focused on academic performance and student satisfaction and in meeting or exceeding the expectations of student-customers (Boyd 2012; Fanghanel 2012). The academic is forced to respond to the student-customer in different ways without the benefit of customer service training (Boyd 2012). However, viewing students as customers has led to a misinterpretation of the relationship between HEIs and students (Wood 2007). According to Driscoll and Wicks (1998, cited in Wood 2007:20), "venerating student needs may be detrimental...in the long run because the need for a quality education is not patently clear in the minds of all students".

If indeed the focus is to blindly adapt to the marketplace and in doing so merely meets the whims of whoever comes to class then there is a question raised about either what is being purchased or what is being produced (Wood 2007). Learning in HEIs is presented as a package and the role of the academic is established as aligning and delivering learning for which the student has agreed to purchase but must also play their part for success (Fanghanel 2012). However, students must be reminded that they are not customers but young scholars pursuing something that has far more integrity than purchasing a product (Piasecki 2015, cited in Elmes 2015).

Having a customer driven focus runs the risk of destroying standards (Tierney 1999, in Wood 2007:26) and raises questions of how standards can be managed and maintained with more students than ever in the academy and a reduction in academic staff and administrative support (Taylor and Underwood 2015). However, concerns to do with a dilution of standards and an acceptance of students unsuitable for HEIs is inevitable under the commercialisation of the sector (Winter 2009). Having a short

term approach to the student-customer will have an effect upon longer-term benefits such as intellectual exploration and intrinsic motivation (Lust (1998, cited in Wood 2007). This not only affects the reputation of the academic but that of the institution and ultimately the talent available in the labour market (Graham 2015).

### *Surveillance under new managerialism*

For HEIs to remain competitive in the current financial climate<sup>6</sup>, visibility of outcomes through monitoring becomes essential (Fanghanel 2012). Advances in information and communication technologies have allowed data to become centralised, and transparent opening up newer opportunities for speedier and more extensive and intrusive levels of monitoring (Chen and Ross 2005; Fanghanel 2012).

Within HEIs, surveillance strategies are often implemented with the expressed intent of facilitating reporting and advancing the teaching and learning agenda (Dawson 2006). Bentham (1791, letter 5, p23) in his work on the creation of the Panopticon, makes clear that the essential point of surveillance is to enable, “seeing without being seen” and that the person being inspected should always feel themselves under inspection. Indeed Foucault (1979) acknowledges that an increase in surveillance activities from many angles creates a multiple gaze and consequently, HEIs are able to place closer scrutiny on academics as factors of production.

As surveillance costs become even cheaper, it is more available for HEI use, potentially raising issues to do with privacy and introducing “a culture of permanent mistrust” (Lorenz 2012:609). According to Haggerty and Ericson (2000, cited in Blakemore 2005:20), new managerialism’s culture of accountability and constant monitoring of outcomes is an increase in

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<sup>6</sup> For example, regulation of student numbers in 2015, leading to greater student choice and universities competing to enrol under-graduate students

surveillance tactics which will result in the “disappearance of disappearance”. As tracking and monitoring of academic performance and whereabouts is made easier, it becomes progressively more difficult for academics to remain anonymous or below the radar, perpetuating a crisis of trust (Blakemore 2005). Academics are being surveilled in different ways for example, reporting information through blind-copied and forwarded e-mails; tracking of tasks and location (via on-line calendars and whereabouts sheets), through student surveys e.g. NSS<sup>7</sup> and performance statistics (for example, module satisfaction feedback which reviews teaching and learning; justification of assessment results) allowing for the removal of anonymity and ready stalking of academics’ activities and performance.

HEIs have not been immune to the introduction of surveillance technologies and strategies as they are now designed and built into institutional life, impacting the management and control of academics and students (Dawson 2006). The student-customer is also used as a surrogate surveillance device via for example, the increasing use of complaints procedures, student-staff consultative committees and anonymous unit feedback procedures (Parker and Jary 1995, Fanghanel 2012). These tactics serve to undermine the academic’s professionalism and question the correctness of academic teaching methods and even expertise in delivery (Lorenz 2012).

Surveillance techniques are being used to enforce institutionally accepted behaviours as well as to identify deviant behaviour (Dawson 2006). These techniques have the potential to create greater management efficiencies as the data from surveillance can be used in enabling for example, the

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<sup>7</sup> The National Student Survey (NSS) gathers students’ opinions annually on the quality of their courses. The survey aims to contribute to public accountability as well as to guide and inform the choices of prospective students and provide data that assists institutions in enhancing the student experience. (source: [www.hefce.ac.uk](http://www.hefce.ac.uk), accessed 31<sup>st</sup> July 2016)

application of disciplinary power in innovative ways (Kitto and Higgins 2003, cited in Dawson 2006). Management are able to arrange scrutiny so “surveillance is permanent in its effects even if discontinuous in its action” (Foucault 1979:201) ensuring that close scrutiny is embedded within academic systems, structures and processes and an outcome always enabled whether for example the process is used or avoided.

For the academic, visibility is maintained in two ways, firstly in the sense that s/he will always be spied upon and secondly, sometimes unverifiable in never always knowing when s/he is being observed, but certain that observations are being done (Foucault 1979). The effect being that the person under scrutiny will be strongly persuaded to adhere to organisational rules and procedures which curtails academic autonomy and freedom (Bentham 1791). In restricting autonomy, the manager’s perceived double-bind of discretion where if employees have autonomy they cannot be sure it is used in pursuit of organisational goals, may be resolved (Lorenz 2012). Surveillance is then seen as necessary for control and the more persons are surveilled, the more perfectly the purpose of the establishment will be achieved (Bentham 1791).

Human behaviour is often altered when people are aware of surveillance techniques and the degree of influence these technologies can have on user behaviour (Dawson 2006). The impact of being surveilled is that the relationship between worker and manager inevitably changes with the individual becoming the object of surveillance and no longer the subject of communication (Blakemore 2005). Without this communication (involved dialogue, dissent, compromise) a vacuum is created which is likely to be replaced by contest and opposition (Blakemore 2005).

In removing personal or direct control and being able to isolate worker’s movements by additional indirect control, one where statistics can be and are being manipulated by academics, affects the relationship (McPhail



2001, cited in Blakemore 2005). The response by academics may be to focus on the activities that they know are being monitored and attempt to influence the statistics in this way (Lorenz 2012). Monitoring leads to beliefs that there are increased job demands and lower worker control over the work which often result in fear, resentment and stress levels being elevated (Moore 2000). Such negative reactions may lead to withdrawal from the organisation such as through sickness absence or departure and the resultant loss of self-esteem by the academic, affecting students' behaviour and performance (Kinman and Jones 2003; Kinman 2014).

### *Collegiality and new managerialism*

While it appears that HEIs are becoming more inclined towards new managerialism, there is still debate about the extent to which managerialism has displaced collegiality (Kolsaker 2008). A collegial culture simply defined as one with a focus on for example, democracy between peers, involvement, authority and influence in decision-making (Burnes et al 2014; Marini and Reale 2015). According to AUT (2000), there is the semblance but not substance of collegiality in HEIs. The report furthers that this is evident through the lack of consultation about management issues and decisions often taken without consultation, involvement and communication leaving staff to find out at times by chance (AUT 2000). New managerialism is therefore seen as eroding collegiality and asserting the manager's right to manage (Randle and Brady 1997). Questions are then raised as to whether academics have really lost their power and authority and if managerialism has eroded the balancing role played by collegiality or simply changed how power is used in HEIs (MacFarlane 2005).

Marini and Reale (2015) argue that the more a university is managerially led, the less it will be collegial because individuality and voice of academics will be increasingly suppressed as top-down decision-making

dominates. Collegiality, they claim, becomes a zero sum game where power is maintained and used by only those in higher positions (Marini and Reale 2015). In hindering collegiality through a strong emphasis on managerialism, academics may resist further in defending their freedoms (Teelken 2012) having a consequential negative bearing on trust between peers (Huisman and Currie 2004).

According to De Boer et al (2010), a reduction in collegiality under new managerialism is evidenced when there is heavy use of power by senior management often through indirect control as opposed to direct authority (Kolthoff et al 2007). This approach rejects the dominance of the academic professional by imposing a range of subjectivities to encourage organisational commitment (Barry et al 2001). However, the critical nature of academic staff makes them more likely to analyse, criticise and substantiate information and evidence thus not guaranteeing that management decisions taken will be successfully implemented (Holmes and McElwee 1995; Ho and Wearn 1996; Burnes et al 2014).

This hard approach to new managerialism has resulted in a new role for managers in restricting academic freedom and flexibility to achieve the desired performance (Brown et al 2003). However, academic freedom is often considered as the most important element in academic culture that frustrates new initiatives (Koch 2003). Academics use their expression of academic freedom to prevent change to more effective ways of working (Raanan 1998), as well as in determining the success of new managerialism in the academy (Holmes and McElwee 1995; Ho and Wearn 1996).

Taking a softer approach to new managerialism is more likely to provide degrees of freedom to scholars and prove to be more compatible with collegialism (Deem and Brehony 2005). All forms of authority require some form of collegiality to be successful concur Tapper and Palfreyman (2010,

cited in Marini and Reale 2015). In order to rule the university well, managerialism must accommodate and guarantee room for some forms of collegialism particularly to govern academic issues such as research and teaching (Marini and Reale 2015). This use of discretionary power allows the academics the freedom to govern themselves with some leeway provided as total control over managerial affairs is usually an unachievable goal (Burnes et al 2014).

The question may indeed be asked as to whether a culture of managerialism and collegiality can co-exist within the academy. Managers need collegiate support to carry out their key role ensuring trust and confidence for effectiveness. It then becomes important to understand what permits trust to blossom or mistrust to brew in academia and that it might be harder to accept a collegial path of enhancement in some HEIs (Marini and Reale 2015).

A number of new cultures are proposed where managerialism takes over at the expense of collegiality or managerial rhetoric is enacted without real change in practice or a model seeking to blend both (Meek et al 2010, cited in Marini and Reale 2015). The creation of a model of new collegialism is recognised as a positive response to accountability (Newton 2002) and such a high degree of managerialism could strengthen or generate collegialism among academics stimulated by demands to report, raise funds and accept some means of evaluation (Hoecht 2006).

Having explored the different ways in which new managerialism has been revealed, the next section explores the research being undertaken in this area.

#### *2.1.4 Studies into new managerialism*

There has been a re-masculinisation of management as new managerialism practices demand an openly aggressive approach to managing as opposed to a more gentlemanly one (Whitehead 1996, 1998, 2004; Deem 2001). Much of the earlier research around the impact or embrace of new managerialism (for example, Prichard and Willmott 1997; Barry et al 2001) focused mainly on senior management in HEIs many of whom were male. Earley (1994, cited in Barry et al 2001:94) found evidence of “macho management” and references being made to a dictatorial and confrontational style of management. However, much of this early research determined there was much ado about nothing, as managerialism was not fully embedded into university life (Parker and Jary 1995; Barry et al 2001). However, the evidence is evolving despite there being limited attention paid to the impact of new managerialism reforms on all academic types as well as on the impact of attitudes being formed (Hannaghan 2006; Vigoda-Gadot and Meiri 2008; Fanghanel 2012). Much of the empirical research around new managerialism (for example, Randle and Brady 1997; Deem and Brehony 2005; Kolsaker 2008; Kok et al 2010) over the years, have placed their focus on gathering mainly quantitative data from a variety of university types, ignoring more qualitative responses.

However, Fanghanel (see for example Fanghanel: 2004, 2007, 2009, 2012; Fanghanel and Trowler 2008) based her work on exploring new managerialism practices on the modern academic. Based upon in-depth interviews with fifty academics (UK and overseas) Fanghanel (2007 and 2012)<sup>8</sup> determined that their reaction to new managerialism was to either

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<sup>8</sup>Fanghanel's research spanned a period of eight years (2004-2012) and included interviews with fifty academics in five countries (including the UK) and twenty Institutions. Her research anonymises much of the data and so UK specific findings are not often made clear. However, it

stay below the radar whilst working beyond normal hours or to minimise engagement. Keeping engagement to a minimum may be an indicative sign of resistance. Her interviews found that some academics have seized the neo-liberal agenda in an offensive way carving out their own career niches (Fanghanel 2012). She recognised the intersection between academics and that of race and gender in her respondents' attempts to position themselves in their HEIs with reference to their own "subjectivities and histories" (Fanghanel 2012:6). Issues to do with the visualisation of work; streamlining of practices; obstruction of academic freedom and trust as well as the emergence of the student-customer surfaced.

Kok et al's (2010) quantitative study<sup>9</sup>, discussed the impact of new managerialism changes on both academic as well as administrative staff using a purposive sampling method. Their findings revealed that even though all HEIs are veering towards greater consideration of new managerialism practices and becoming increasingly commercialised, the traditional universities (ancients, red-bricks and plate-glass) appear to have been affected the most by new managerialism practice in having to make the greatest changes. These changes (for example, greater focus on cost-effectiveness; increased student numbers) they found, having a diluting effect on both research and teaching accordingly. The research also found that in the more traditional universities academic decisions were still being made by academics as a focus and priority, maintaining a sense of collegiality. In contrast, the newer universities (post-1992) were more receptive to new managerialism changes feeling pressured to undertake and further these practices to be competitive (Kok et al 2010).

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does note similarities in practice and embrace of new managerialism in different countries but in very similar ways. I find her research has relevance to this study.

<sup>9</sup>Kok et al's (2010) study - 1224 questionnaires sent to 102 universities achieving a response rate of 25.7%.

Kolsaker's (2008) mixed method research<sup>10</sup> examined the relationship between academics and new managerialism. The research used an initial focus group of academics in one HEI as well as twelve interviews across six HEIs. Her research found that new managerialism was both accepted and tolerated as standard and necessary in ensuring greater accountability and performance. However, its success was determined by the ways in which power was being used and identity could be preserved. She found evidence of identity "being crafted and re-crafted as conditions changed" (Kolsaker 2008:522). Her research limitation highlighted the homogeneity of her findings expressing that a broader range of respondents as well as sampling via specific subject disciplines would further the research.

Deem and Brehony's (2005) study examined the role of new managerialism in HEIs with a focus on academic managers and their need for power and control in work relationships. For their research, they used an initial focus-group discussion with academics, managers and administrators; followed by semi-structured interviews with 137 academic managers and twenty-nine senior administrators across sixteen universities (red-brick, 1960s, post-1992s). They concluded that new managerialism changes the nature of what HEIs do with many of the academic managers embracing the changes and asserting their rights to use power and control in order to manage effectively and efficiently.

The early work of Randle and Brady (1997)<sup>11</sup> explored the development of new managerialism changes in a further education institution. Using interviews with managers and a survey across academic staff (numbers

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<sup>10</sup>Kolsaker's (2008) quantitative research, included a focus group of academics from various disciplines as well as twelve interviews conducted across six HEIs,(two from the Russell Group of research intensive universities; two from the 1994 group, promoting research and teaching excellence; two from post-1992s, undertaking research).

<sup>11</sup> Even though this work was carried out in a further education institution and not an HEI, it is felt to be relevant in being one of the first studies into the impact of new managerialism and highlighting some of the issues beginning to surface in HEIs.

not stated). Their research found that there was evidence of deprofessionalisation happening as well as work intensification and tighter cost-controls. Their research recognised the advent of the student as a customer assuming the “role of manager in the classroom” (p238), covertly monitoring and evaluating the academic.

The early work of Parker and Jary (1995) focusing on experiences of new managerialism at a senior level can be viewed as an early warning, signalling the advent of managerialism as a force to be reckoned with and not just a permeation into everyday life (Barry et al 2001).

Although there have been much literature written around this topic, the empirical studies reveal that the research has been broad in scope covering a variety of university types but not specifically examining the impact upon particular sub-sets of academics. This omission provides scope for my study to make a specific contribution to exploring the impact of new managerialism on Black female academics in post-1992 HEIs.

Having examined the research undertaken in this area the next section explores the effect that new managerialism has had on academics’ daily lives in the workplace and their sense of self.

## **2.2 Impact of New Managerialism on Academic Roles and Perceptions of Selves**

### *2.2.1 New managerialism and identity*

The sweeping and dynamic changes of new managerialism have resulted in simultaneous changes in the psychological reality of academics and shaping who they are (Berger and Luckmann 1991; Holmes 2005). However, new managerial practices have had a misguided effect in undermining academic freedom and autonomy (Deem and Brehony 2005;

Clegg and McAuley 2005; Naidoo and Jamieson 2005). Consequently, academics are sculpting and re-defining themselves as their working environment changes (Kolsaker 2008). However, it may be too simple to attribute these reactions to only managerialism as other factors present in the academy such as gender, race or external pressures need to be examined (Kolsaker 2008).

Clegg's (2008) in-depth interviews of thirteen academics (seven women and six men) from a single post-1992 institution investigated whether new managerialism was actually changing academic identity. Her findings revealed that women and ethnic groups were not being encouraged in this type of discourse and that identities were indeed evolving. She concluded that identities appeared to be changing at a greater rate under new managerialism.

The next section briefly explores how new academic roles are beginning to emerge as a result of new managerialism changes.

### *2.2.2 Institutional perspective*

The Government and the market have attempted to redefine professionalism in the public sector. This was intended so the public sector professional became more commercially aware and focused on budgets, management and enterprise offering real and innovative services to clients and customers (Dingwall and King 1995; Hanlon 1999; Evans 2008). Consequently professionalism has changed from a set of customary and expected characteristics and now appears to be a set of workplace practices underpinned by new management ideology as opposed to a personal attribute (Evetts 2011).



Academic roles and identities are being redefined in different ways to serve different interests (Evans 2008). They have become more diverse in reality than ideally expected (Fanghanel 2012). Thus, more complexities are generated because of this diversity, requiring greater sensitivities in terms of inter-personal and change management skills from senior management, in not alienating academics (Whitchurch and Gordon 2010).

Institutional approaches to professionalism are linked to the development of managerialism in universities (Evetts 2011). It is often assumed that professional workers do not require supervision as, “they are expected and expect themselves to be committed” to their work and to their profession (Evetts 2011:13). This however appears to be a fallacy as in many HEIs professionalism appears to be constructed and imposed from above, mostly by employers and managers resulting in a false sense of autonomy and control on the part of the academic (Evetts 2011). Institutions therefore decide the degrees of professionalism to be exhibited, for example in course design and execution, ensuring that autonomy and control are never really conferred to academics (Evetts 2011).

Having examined the new focus from HEIs because of new managerialism, the next section scrutinises the challenges to academic life that are emerging.

### *2.2.3 Autonomy and collegiality*

Autonomy is a key defining characteristic of professionalism and described as the freedom to direct one’s own actions and priorities (Freidson 2001). Therefore, autonomy and academic freedom are seen as fundamental values to academics (Fanghanel 2012). Under new managerialism the autonomy of academics has passed to others, for example, administrators to make decisions about students, resulting in a “strong sense” of being

managed and freedom and autonomy being denied (Trow 2002, cited in Fanghanel 2012:16). In removing autonomy and freedom and placing an emphasis on a compliance culture for academics, has resulted in challenges to academic autonomy as staff become stretched along with institutional fabric (Robertson 2010).

Academic managers need to retain power and domination in work relationships in their strategic approach to professionalism. As a result, they impose a style of management they feel is relevant in maintaining this position, despite their being increasingly distanced from daily routines of academic work (Deem and Brehony 2005). However, this use of power and control is seen as an assault on professionalism, creating distrust and stifling an “independent moral voice” (Freidson 2001:197). Consequently, academics are silenced, reflecting management’s power domination and restricting their professionalism (Hoyle 1975; Davies 2003; Deem and Brehony 2005). Nevertheless, Winstanley et al (1996) argue that it is indeed legitimate for an employer to trespass on the employee’s autonomy to ensure control and performance.

In HEIs march towards greater competition and commercialisation, collegiality can be eroded. This corrosion represents a demonstrable shift from a relationship based upon trust to one of accountability, which affects professionalism (Freidson 2001; Cheetham and Chivers 2005). Freidson (2001) refers to social closure as being able to exclude people from groups because they are perceived to not possess some pre-determined characteristic seen as important. This includes for example: property, race or gender, based on a variety of criteria which tends to favour the White majority. Furthering that this social closure rewards its members culturally, socially or even psychologically (Freidson 2001). This approach used to ensure exclusivity is often linked to inequality “as a means of domination” and preventing access to others, thereby negating a real sense of collegiality in the academy (Murphy 1988, cited in Freidson 2001:199).

Having discussed the changes made to the collegiate deal and to autonomy the next two sections focus on how academic roles and lives are being altered by new managerialism practices and processes.

#### *2.2.4 New professionalism*

“New professionalism” has been consciously imposed by managers and reflects the common thread binding academics as a result of the shift in power, where autonomy has given way to accountability (Hoyle and Wallace 2005; Evans 2008:21). Customer service and care skills become paramount under new professionalism along with behaviours and competences derived from different professional sets coupled with generic people skills (Whitchurch and Gordon 2010; Boyd 2012). Accordingly, academics are becoming fragmented as they become blended professionals, absorbing both academic and non-academic functions (Whitchurch and Gordon 2010).

#### *2.2.5 Exploring academic selves*

As the social context of work changes, academics in identifying themselves must question who they are in terms of how they participate and behave in the academy. According to Goffman (1990), the real self can be concealed behind a mask of performance and an acceptable image of self in the workplace presented. This layering of self can be reactivated when appropriate, having particular relevance with minority groups in their search for belonging space in the academy (Essed 2000). Academic identity can be partly shaped by recognition and/or its misrecognition by others. Misrecognition however, proving harmful to a person’s real self and identified as a form of oppression (Taylor 1994, cited in Maylor 2009).

Professional selves then become a correlation between the agency of the individual within the boundaries and structures being encountered and

require navigation, negotiation and interpretation as multiple selves are developed (Henkel 2007; Barnett and di Napoli 2008). New managerialism affects the academics' sense of self and they in turn become caught between a commitment to subject discipline or to the day-to-day practicalities of teaching and less so on research and development (Hoyle 1975).

### *Emergent selves*

Traditional academic identities which have been based upon collegiality and autonomy and often from traditional elite positions (mostly White, male and middle class) are under threat (Collini 2003, 2012). According to Albert and Whetten (1985), traditional values such as professional autonomy and collective ideals are being marginalised and squeezed out in favour of an identity that is largely directed by the efficiency pursuits of new managerialism. Clegg (2008) however disagrees, stating that rather than being under threat what is now visible is an expansion and proliferation of academic identities with a focus on a variety of different types of work which helps to explain the differences.

### *Provisional selves*

Established identities have given way to emergent selves where an acceptable identity is established and values placed upon this expectant self (Ibarra 1999). As work and role changes provisional selves emerge to bridge the gap between what and who we already are and the self-conceptions about attitudes and behaviour expected in the new role (Ibarra 1999). Self becomes on trial, as new identities are tested. In adapting to work transitions aspects of one's professional identity, which might have been relatively stable may change markedly. It is probable that individuals will adapt aspects of themselves to accommodate role demands and definitions making the notion of academic identity even more fluid (Clegg 2008). Whitchurch's (2009) study of twenty-nine academics in three

different UK HEIs concluded that not only are academic identities changing but questioned, how widespread is the trend.

### *Janus-faced*

Academics have been described as Janus-faced, that is, looking to their occupations for their teaching identity but outside for their identity as subject specialists (Piper 1994). This duality however is difficult to sustain. An emphasis on students as customers has led to greater stress on pedagogical and curriculum changes, influencing the academic's ability to develop and market innovative courses (Nixon 1996). Simultaneously, the changing conditions of academic work have increased the stakes of the academic as a researcher able to attract external funding. Academics now have to invest more in networking across the business communities and other networks within their subject specialism (Nixon 1996) as career mobility is now dependent on their reputation including research and teaching and influence outside their own HEI.

### *Multiple identities*

Multiple identities are appearing and are formulated for example in juggling academic work with administration and customer care as well as seeking external business (Jermier et al 1994). Consequently, academics attempt to negotiate their new space in the academy (Henkel 2007; Barnett and di Napoli 2008). These attempts to negotiate, create new tensions and greater challenges to management (Whitchurch and Gordon 2010) as “unthinking resistance meets unthinking control in an unwinnable battle between academics and new managerialism” (Watson 2009:77).

These changes are favouring a much tougher, more ‘macho’ kind of academic, and encourages a climate where due process, equity and respect for academic freedom are overwhelmed by...the marketplace. (Davies 2003:96)

### 2.3 Section Summary

The uncertainty of the academic environment has enabled HEI managers to introduce an intimidating working environment underpinned with an intensified workload with increased surveillance and control (Morley and Walsh 1996; Fanghanel 2012). New managerialism is still being considered as a risky venture to alienate the academics rather than support them (Dennis 1995; Cuthbert 2011). A number of authors concur in describing new managerialism as a malignant influence in undermining the autonomy and respect accorded to academics as both professionals and intellectuals (Deem and Brehony 2005; Clegg and McAuley 2005).

Tensions are created where the academic group has a focus on education and disseminating knowledge and the managers an opposing focus on profitability and budgets (Kok et al 2010). For academics, new managerialism suggests less freedom and autonomy in favour of a managed, structured and monitored regime (Kolsaker 2008), creating a challenge to their conventional thinking rather than developing a sound concept of management practice (O'Flynn 2007; Hacque 2007). Consequently, in a survey of 140 HEIs, academics expressed concerns in three main areas: the stealth nature of managerialism and its associated policies driven by competition, rankings and constant monitoring of performance; growing bureaucracy eroding professionalism; and a preoccupation with reputation and hype (*THE University Workplace survey* 2016).

New managerialism reforms have taken their toll on employees' levels of stress and dissatisfaction (Kinman and Jones 2003; Noblet et al 2006; Kinman 2014) with the resultant behaviour being that academics engage in new managerial behaviours without necessarily subscribing to the ideology (Williams et al 2012). Thus the HEI environment is subject to, for example, a decline in critical thinking, persistent subliminal fear and

anxiety, increase in personal pressure and responsibility and a devalued sense of self (Brown et al 2003). Academics may have been seduced by the rhetoric of efficiency and accountability making them willing participants to new managerialism (Brown et al 2003). However, rather than actively embracing new managerialism, it could be that academics simply know no other way (Kolsaker 2008). Alternatively, resistance to new managerialism by academics is perceived as their ignorance of what the HEI's financial issues are, reminding managers of their expendability (Davies 2003). New managerialism is "routinely resisted and avoided" the only real participants being academic managers and leaders (Deem et al 2007, cited in Fanghanel 2012:20).

A number of reports (UCU 2012c; *THE* University Workplace survey 2015, 2016) suggest that this may be the time for managers to change how they think about managing. This review allowing them to respond better to staff expectations of a more collegiate and professional approach to their management as the pressures being created need creative management thinking as well as good judgment (Cuthbert 2011).

Increases in new managerialism practices have resulted in a re-evaluation of the academic's role and sense of self. The diverse nature of professionalism remains unrecognised and raises further questions as to how the changes are actually being experienced by individuals as opposed to how it was intended (Evans 2008).

So far, this chapter has focussed on new managerialism and the different ways in which it has been experienced by academic staff in higher education institutions. The rest of the chapter will discuss what it means to be a Black woman in the academy by exploring issues to do with race.

## **2.4 Race in the Academy**

This section is concerned with exploring the literature surrounding Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) academic staff in the academy and more specifically the literature around Black women in UK HEIs. The BME literature offers insight into the experiences of Black staff, given the limited data on Black female academic experiences.

### *2.4.1 Researching race in the academy*

Increased competition between universities as well as the increased circulation of individuals and information across borders, have led to a rise in the proportion of staff originating from another country (ECU 2009). Demographic changes, (aging population; reduced fertility in the UK (CIPD 2012; DWP 2015, 2016) have resulted in concerns about under-utilised labour and the need for greater inclusivity for BME groups. For the continuing health of HE, recruitment must be from a wide and diverse pool of applicants thus staff will have different combinations of multiple identities as a result for example, variations in age, gender and ethnicity which results in their having different experiences at work (ECU 2009; UCU 2016). The position and progress of both women and minority ethnic groups in academia has particular importance for the education and socialisation of other professional groups in increasing both voice and visibility in HE (Heward et al 1997; ECU 2009; UCU 2012a, UCU 2016).

Gender in HE is still seen as a White woman's issue and the assumption made that race is a Black male issue. Black women are consequently left to fall in the cracks between the two (Mirza 2007). The current situation places research on race where female participation was, twenty years ago and therefore, Black women remain the most marginalised and socially disadvantaged group within HEIs (Jones 2006; ECU 2009; UCU 2012a).



Consequently, there are significant gaps in the research on BME staff in UK HEIs as a whole, and Black women in particular. Concerns about their experiences, positions and progression have been highlighted from as early as 1999 (see Carter et al 1999) in the same year as the Macpherson Inquiry (see Macpherson 1999) which prompted questions about institutional racism<sup>12</sup> (ECU 2009). Subsequently, BME staff remain significantly under-represented in the academy (Bhopal and Jackson 2013; ECU 2009, 2015; UCU 2016; Bhopal 2016) and accounts of marginalisation have been reported (ECU 2009; Arya 2012; Bhopal 2016).

This absence of representation or research on BME academics constitutes a silence about race and ethnicity and its effect on British academic women in HEIs (Acker 1994). Furthering that, the small number of Black women in the academy are too scattered in the UK to provide any critical mass or hold sufficient positions of influence to improve matters (ibid). The tendency then is to homogenise BME groups, ignoring specific issues of for example, gender and social identity (ECU 2009).

In writing about Black women as a group, the discourse and narrative is often about their struggles and their finding meaning when confronted with adversity and attempts to overcome hurdles (Arya 2012). Such discourses can of course give meaning to experiences encountered, approaches taken and the questions raised, providing both gendered and racial understanding (UCU 2016; Bhopal 2016).

The next section highlights some of the challenges presented in the academy because of race.

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<sup>12</sup> Institutional racism was defined by Sir William Macpherson in the 1999 Lawrence report (UK) as, "The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people". (Macpherson, 1999, Para. 6.34)

### 2.4.2 *Context of race in the academy*

UK HEIs remain ‘hideously white’<sup>13</sup> and rarely open to critical gaze (Back 2004). Black academics are therefore expected to adapt to norms frequently made to fit exclusively White, male profiles (Essed 2000). This expectation challenges the White face of education and questions assumptions and expectations about academics in HEIs (McKay 1997). Consequently, increasing feelings of isolation are experienced (Turner and Myers 2000; Mabokela and Green 2001; ECU 2009; Bhopal 2016). These feelings are compounded by a sense of being a guest in someone else’s house and that of “others” making you feel welcome in “their” space (Turner and Myers 2000:84).

This parallel space is likened to a third space (Mirza and Reay 2000) or the occupants referred to as “hidden counter public”, who become active in attempting to forward their own counter discourses of their identities (Fraser 1994:84). Therefore, Black women develop a sense of their space on the periphery of the academy through self-actualisation and self-definition (Freire 2004). However, they are still referred to as space invaders and out of place in higher education (Puwar 2004; Mirza 2006a, 2009; Wright et al 2007; ECU 2009; UCU 2016; Bhopal 2016). In academic spaces, Black women are considered trespassers or visitors (Puwar 2004; Gay 2004; Mirza 2006a). According to Puwar (2004), there are several ways in which Black academics are created when outside the norm of race in White institutions, for example in the double-take of disorientation that happens when entering a room as you are not expected to be there thus, you are uncomfortably noticed. One way of understanding the challenges of ethnicity and gender in academia is to

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<sup>13</sup> Term used by Greg Dyke (director general of the BBC in 2001), in describing the BBC as being 98% White (Mirza 2006b).

view them as having their basis in masculine reasoning and universal concepts of meritocracy (Knights and Richards 2003).

The next section provides a brief overview of institutional racism and an appreciation of the history of universities in Britain and in particular, their connections to the slave trade and slavery and how that legacy has influenced racism in HEIs.

### 2.4.3 Racism in HEIs

#### *Institutional racism*

The Macpherson Report (1999) placed the term *institutional racism* firmly on the public agenda (see footnote 12, page 48 for definition). Institutional racism is used to describe the consequences of a societal structure, stratified into a racial hierarchy, resulting in layers of discrimination and inequality for minority ethnic people in organisations (Creegan et al 2003; Holdaway and O'Neill 2006). The Macpherson Report (1999), further stating that, all vital agencies in society, including education, had a duty to identify and combat racism. However, to speak of racism is to introduce bad feeling, to hurt not just the organisation but also the people who identify with the organisation (Ahmed 2009). The commitment to EDI is therefore translated into a prohibition on the use of the word racism, despite the racist experiences of the victim (Ahmed 2009).

For Black academics, recognition of the on-going nature of racism is constantly blocked as HEIs want to talk about diversity rather than racism (Ahmed 2009). However, there is an inherent mis-conception in managing diversity - treating people the same, is seen as a weakness, as for example, men and White people are not discriminated against to the extent that women and BME workers are, yet they are equally protected

(Dickens 2007; Ahmed 2009). This approach to managing diversity can be viewed as a form of placebo: “an activity that gives the appearance of addressing the issues (racism and race equality) but which, in reality, manifestly fails to tackle the real problem” (Gillborn 2006b:2). BME academics are therefore more likely to experience covert rather than overt forms of racism. The value of BME staff thus remain unrecognised by many senior staff and heads of department and the work of White (male) academics tend to be profiled and celebrated, rather than that of BME academics (Bhopal and Jackson 2013). Institutional racism persists, because organisations fail to “openly and adequately recognise and address its existence and causes by policy, example and leadership” (Macpherson 1999:28).

The ethnic composition of universities reflects a history of racial inequality. According to Van Bueren<sup>14</sup> (2016), history consistently demonstrates that when traditionalists seek to block change, it is often by arguing that, defining those who need protection is too complex, yet, an essential function of the university is to unravel complexity. While widening access policies have focused on the student population, inequalities still persist for staff. For example, there are only 9.2% BME academic staff (of known ethnicity) in England, of which only 3.9% are senior academics with significantly lower numbers across the rest of the UK (ECU 2015b). The highest concentrations of BME staff tend to be in London and other major cities across England such as in Birmingham and Manchester (ECU 2015b). By contrast, there are 23.2% BME students in England (London having the highest concentration of 46.2% and 18.4% in the rest of England) (ECU 2015b).

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<sup>14</sup> Geraldine Van Bueren QC, was writing on the issue of moving beyond class and protected characteristics in equality and diversity in the academy (Source: THES, October 20, 2016). Geraldine Van Bueren QC, is professor of international human rights law and is a former commissioner on the UKs Equality and Human Rights Commission.

Consequently, for BME academics and students, their experiences are different in spaces where diversity is more evident (Bhopal 2016). According to ECU (2015b), the numbers of BME students are increasing yet they remain disadvantaged, for example, after graduation they are more likely to be unemployed and earn less compared to their White counterparts (EHRC 2016). The focus must be placed not just on challenging inequalities, but on a civic, moral, ethical and institutional duty towards others (Gillborn 2006b). However, in understanding this duty there may be a need to recognise that racial inequality in the academy may be attributable to complex and deeper links between historical legacies of the slave trade and the academy and even marked by, “bloodshed and destruction” (Gillborn 2006b:11). These links are briefly explored in the next section.

### *2.4.4 HEIs historical links to slavery*

The ancient universities in Britain were established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the universities of Oxford (1167) and Cambridge (1209) dominating the English landscape. The Scottish universities of: St Andrews (1410-1413), Glasgow (1451), Aberdeen (1495-1505), Edinburgh (1583) and Marischal College (1593-1860, when merged into the University of Aberdeen) established their own northern supremacy a few centuries later (Complete University Guide 2016). No new universities were successfully founded in the United Kingdom after 1600 until the nineteenth century, although there emerged a number of dissenting academic medical schools such as, St Georges (1733) and the Royal Veterinary College (1791) in the eighteenth century (Scott 2006; Complete University Guide 2016).

Early modern Europe (1500-1800) was characterised by global exploration, New World colonisation, nationalism, and humanistic emphases on the individual. The relative autonomy of the first universities

was eroded by the emerging nation-states of England, Spain, and France, as well as the Italian city-states (Scott 2006). Thereafter, these early modern universities accepted nationalisation (service to the government of the nation-state) and humanism, and were more socially responsive than the medieval university because of the humanist professors' emphasis on ethical values for themselves and their students (Ridder-Symoens 1996, cited in Scott 2006). However, despite this humanist approach there was much support for the slave trade and the prosperity brought from slavery. Given the rise in the number of Scottish universities around during this time (five) compared to English Universities (two), there is evidence (discussed below, under funding and donations), that the benefits from the slave trade were used for their development, prosperity and staff remuneration in the medieval and early modern era (Scott 2006; Wilder 2014).

Scottish slave ownership was higher than in any other part of the UK (Shedden 2016). Glasgow was a convenient port to sail to British colonies in the former West Indies (now known as the Caribbean) and America, and the merchants of the city were very successful in developing trading links. From the mid eighteenth century, Glasgow became a major centre of the sugar, rum and tobacco trades and the tobacco lords were very wealthy, and many built city mansions and bought large estates in the surrounding countryside (Glasgow University Library Archive /Slavery 2009). Since there were significant vested interests in Glasgow and the economic wealth being provided from the Caribbean and America, the slave trade was protected and expanded (Mullen 2009). Several Glasgow families, for example the Stirlings or the Cunninghames (whose mansion is now Glasgow's Museum of Modern Art) were involved in the sugar trade, which was heavily reliant on slaves. James Ewing, who was one of Glasgow's best-known public figures of the early 19th century, owned plantations in Jamaica (Glasgow University Library Archive/Slavery 2017).

*Funding and donations from the slave trade*

By the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Britain was critically dependent upon its fortune made from slavery which became the single most valuable import to Britain (Schama 2003). Huge fortunes had been made which translated into, for example, great country estates and houses in Britain or institutional bequests (Schama 2003; Scott 2006). One such bequest was the donation from the Codrington's plantations in Barbados and Antigua which has left its mark on Oxford University (Heine 2014). Christopher Codrington was born in 1668 in Barbados, educated at Christ Church (Oxford) and became a fellow of All Souls (Oxford), before taking over from his father in running the plantations. When he died in 1710, his will left £10,000 to All Souls, £6,000 of that to build a library and £4,000 to purchase books (Heine 2014). This legacy created the great library at All Souls College, Oxford, which bears his name (Schama 2003). The Codrington Library is a monument to the power of slavery and is arguably the most prestigious example of how slavery shaped Oxford through the amassed enormous wealth from the sugar plantations (Heine 2014).

Further records and official histories of other British universities during this period receiving similar bequests are not recorded (British National Archives/Slavery 2017). However, educational institutions of the period (both in the UK and the USA) such as All Souls College, Oxford and Harvard University (USA) benefitted from charitable bequests made by slave owners and slave traders (Wilder 2014). Indeed, many of America's revered colleges and universities, from Harvard (1636), Yale (1701), and Princeton (1746) to Rutgers (1766), Williams College (1793), and the University of North Carolina (1789) "were soaked in the sweat, the tears, and sometimes the blood of people of color [sic]" (Wilder 2014:108). Later in America, the slave economy, (including donations from Britain) and higher education developed together, each cultivating the other (Wilder 2014). For example, slavery funded colleges, built campuses, and paid the

wages of professors and academic leaders aggressively courted the support of slave owners and slave traders (Wilder 2014). Significantly, as Wilder shows, many of the leading universities, reliant on human bondage, became breeding grounds for the racist ideas that sustained them (Wilder 2014). More recently, these racist ideas were evidenced beyond slavery to apartheid in South Africa, the recent controversy over the Rhodes<sup>15</sup> statue at Oxford University and in selective approaches to BME staffing and BME student composition in universities, especially in Oxbridge and the elite Russell Group of universities in England (ECU 2015a,b; HESA 2015b, 2016a; UCU 2012a).

### *Oppositional voices in the academy*

While there had always been people who objected to the slave trade and slavery, its full horrors were not grasped by the general public in Britain (Jones 1996). However, by the late 18th century as these details emerged, the anti-slavery movement started and petitions calling for an end to slavery began to appear (Glasgow University Library Archive/Slavery 2017). Several members of Glasgow University were prominent at that period in the movement to abolish slavery, including Francis Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1730, Adam Smith, Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy 1751, and John Millar Regius, Professor of Civil Law 1761 (Glasgow University Library Archive/Slavery 2017). Other oppositional voices to the slave trade and slavery included Durham 'born and bred' abolitionist Granville Sharp, who became renowned for his

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<sup>15</sup> The movement known as *Rhodes Must Fall*, began with a protest action at the University of Cape Town on 9<sup>th</sup> March 2015 and quickly spread to other campuses in South Africa, and then to Oxford University. The first of these battles led swiftly to victory, with the removal of the large statue of Cecil Rhodes from the University of Cape Town a month after the campaign began. Their latest frustration is given to Oxford University's resistance to doing the same with the statue of Rhodes at Oriel College, where it still stands, on the facade of a building bearing his name, as an acknowledgement of the £100,000 he left the college in his will. (Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/16/the-real-meaning-of-rhodes-must-fall>, accessed, 25<sup>th</sup> February 2017).



campaigns against slavery, as well as the works of the second Earl Grey, the descendent of a long established Northumbrian family. During his time as Prime Minister, Grey, who gave his name to one of the Durham University's<sup>16</sup> colleges, passed the Reform Act of 1832. This led to the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833, finishing the work initiated and intended by the 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade Act (Durham University Library Archives/Slavery 2017). Opposition also came from the Aberdeen anti-slavery society founded at a public meeting in 1825. Its officers and committee members were representing not just Aberdeen, but the North East as a whole (Aberdeen University Library Archives/Slavery 2017).

### *Calls for atonement*

In recent times, there has been a steady and growing call (by students, BME academics and historians in the main) for universities funded by slavery and the slave trade to atone for its slave legacy (Brophy 2016). For example, Brown University (USA) created a \$10 million endowment in 2007, to assist poor local children to reach university; Georgetown University (USA) have offered preferential status in admissions to descendants of slaves whilst also creating a slavery study institute and public memorial (Brophy 2016). In the UK, there have been similar calls by similar groups for UK universities to follow suit and acknowledge their links to slavery (Grove 2016). The university of Bristol's (gaining its royal charter in 1906) main benefactor, the Wills family, imported slave-grown US tobacco until 1865. However, no monuments exist in Bristol recognising the contribution of slave labour to the prosperity of Bristol (Dresser 2016). The University of Liverpool by contrast, has set up a centre for the study of

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<sup>16</sup> Durham University was the next English university to be established in 1832 ([www.durham.ac.uk/aboutus](http://www.durham.ac.uk/aboutus)), followed by the University of London (1836, [www.london.ac.uk/aboutus](http://www.london.ac.uk/aboutus)) and Victoria University (1880, now the University of Manchester - [www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/history-heritage/history/victoria/](http://www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/history-heritage/history/victoria/)) and University of Wales (1893, [www.wales.ac.uk/aboutus](http://www.wales.ac.uk/aboutus)) all sites were accessed, 16<sup>th</sup> January 2017.

international slavery, which has begun to probe how much the university benefited from the wealth acquired by slave-trading residents whose lavish townhouses are now occupied by the university (Grove 2016). However, Oriel College, Oxford have rebuffed all calls to remove a small statue of Rhodes, despite campaigners saying, it was similar to having a statue of Hitler in Germany (Grove 2016). Oriel College's response being, that it would seek to provide a historical context to visitors and students, in explanation of the statue's presence (Grove 2016).

### *Living the legacies*

The legacy of slavery and the slave trade is thus important in understanding and improving the experiences of BME staff and students in HEIs in the UK. The removal of a statue constitutes a symbolic and political act, but is insufficient in removing racism in HEIs which requires, "changes to social structures and dismantling the processes of White privilege in universities" (Bhopal 2016<sup>17</sup>) to increase Black academics' sense of belonging. With the increase in the diversity of students, then there is benefit in also having more staff diversity in offering a range of skills and experiences. This lack of academic diversity within HEIs, needs to be cracked open, according to Loughery (2016), as there is danger in the polite silence of not addressing the issue (Mirza 2016)<sup>18</sup>. Furthering that HEIs target Black students and point to how many they have, but those Black students then have to operate within a world of Whiteness (Mirza 2016). It has also been suggested that, HEIs need to make a stronger contribution to social justice imperatives in creating socially progressive spaces, not just simply being, "White islands in ethnically

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<sup>17</sup> Kalwant Bhopal, speaking in an interview with Jack Grove for the article: Sins of the fathers (THES 15 December 2016).

<sup>18</sup> Mirza (2016), speaking at Challenging the Silence in Higher education: Race and Racism in the Academy, a conference jointly hosted by Goldsmith's and the London School of Economics (THES, 20 October 2016).

diverse communities” (Fook and Ross 2016:31). Universities as teaching institutions have a moral responsibility to do the “right thing” in not erasing the past but to “confront it, teach it, improve the present, and set the stage for the future” (Trachtenberg 2016, cited in Grove 2016).

The next section moves this discussion on to explore issues of equality and diversity in higher education as it tends to be heavily promoted under new managerialism’s neo-liberal policies.

### *2.4.5 Equality and diversity in the academy*

#### *Legislating for equality and diversity*

Anti-discrimination and equality law in the UK dates back to the Equal Pay Act 1970 where attempts were made to outlaw inequalities in pay between men and women. The law came into effect in 1975 alongside the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Race Relations Act 1974 (CIPD 2015). The incorporation of other discriminatory areas (age, sexual orientation, religion and belief) as a result of the European Union directives and pre-existing Acts were amended and updated making them compliant with later European Union directives. Consequently, the Equality Act streamlined these different Acts into one place, receiving Royal Assent in April 2010 under a Labour Government. One of the key concepts of the Equality Act was to identify and introduce a list of protected characteristics for which equality of opportunity should be advanced. This list included for example, race, sex, sexual orientation, gender reassignment and age (CIPD 2015).

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) made it unlawful to discriminate against individuals because of their race. The Act required public bodies to record and report all racist incidents enabling the data to be collected and monitored and they were expected to promote race

equality and training for diversity and race awareness. However, changes to the UK Government in May 2010, removed the requirement to record and monitor incidents. Despite the Race Relations Act being passed into English law more than thirty years ago and the subsequent amendments made in 2000, racism in higher education remains prevalent. Although overt displays of racism are generally not tolerated, racism and racists persist, sometimes masked by colour-blindness (belief that all people should be treated equally, regardless of their race/colour) and race-neutrality (impartiality expressed over racial differences) (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Ledesma and Calderón 2015).

*Equality, diversity and HRD*

Human Resource Management (HRM) has been linked to superior workplace performance (see for example, Huselid 1995; Purcell et al 2003; Appelbaum et al 2000; Sung and Ashton 2005). By bundling HRM practices, correlations to improved institutional performance are made (Pfeffer 1998). The link between diversity and Human Resource Development (HRD) is made as HRD is committed to the development of people, systems and responding to societal needs as well as providing practical solutions through supporting a diverse workforce ethically and morally, linking it to business goals and leadership (Hite and McDonald 2010).

However, according to Rocco et al (2014), few articles have been published in HRD/HRM journals over the last decade discussing critical race theory (CRT) to inform HRD work. Explicit discourse about race remains a silent topic in HRD with race occurring only in relation to diversity training. HRD scholars must therefore take the lead in exposing the role of race in institutional decision-making and policy-setting using CRT lens (Rocco et al 2014). Unlike the evidence on workplace gender

diversity, no studies have been identified that capture the causal impact of ethnic diversity on business outcomes (Subeliani and Tsogas 2005).

Diversity management “positively values difference and therefore provides a radically new approach to the question of difference at work (Subeliani and Tsogas 2005:832). However, it tends to be more common in the private sector with its emphasis on profit and sales, than in public sector organisations with their focus on social responsibility (Ozbilgin and Tatli 2011).

Terms such as diversity density, the extent to which individuals from diverse groups are represented at all levels of the organisation and diversity mind-set, the extent to which an organisation’s senior team considers diversity as a business strategy not just an issue for management or HR department prevail (Hopkins et al 2008). The higher the diversity density that exists within HEIs, the easier it is to assimilate knowledge of external diversity and apply it through strategic actions, underlining the critical importance of diversity at all levels and within a variety of job roles (Hopkins et al 2008). The HEI’s internal diversity being necessary to create a diversity mind-set in recognition of a need to create a safe environment facilitating knowledge sharing throughout the diverse workforce (Hopkins et al 2008) as well as increasing and promoting ethnic minority staff voice diversity (Colgan and McKearney 2012). However, increased diversity leads to both an increase in divergent processes, bringing different values and ideas to the group, and a decrease in convergent processes aligning them around common goals (BIS Report 2013).

### *Progressing diversity in HEIs*

Concerns remain about the effectiveness of equality and diversity policies. According to Rocco et al (2014), all HEI policies need to be scrutinised to identify the impact on employees and the assumption that they are all

neutral abandoned. *THE* University Workplace survey (2016) reported that senior management are often out of touch with reality and unconcerned with fairness to other staff except in their own interest in helping them to win prestigious awards for the HEI. It therefore becomes important to clarify the specific type of diversity (gender, ethnicity, age, disability etc.) being considered and to measure it consistently (BIS 2013).

Equality and diversity management cannot be simply expressed as having a beginning, middle and an end or just a beginning and seen as short term (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Rather, it is an evolving and organic process, where changes made in one area will affect others with no complete end in sight (Williams et al 2005). Consequently, reasons for its failure primarily reside in failure to conceptualise equality and diversity work in terms of organisational change and shifting the institutional culture (Williams et al 2005). Therefore, it becomes necessary for greater attention to be paid to the structures and relationships (institutional not just individual) preventing equality and diversity from facilitating change (Carbado and Gulati 2003, cited in Ledesma and Calderón 2015). Indeed, it is possible that some institutions find it challenging to identify their own inequities or have staff competent to do so.

Eight dimensions have been identified that contribute to sustaining better diversity in HEIs: mission, culture, power, membership patterns, social climate and relations, technology, resources and boundaries (Chesler et al 2005). When any or all of these dimensions do not register on the radar as affecting minority ethnic groups, funding for change disappears and the unresolved issues fester under the surface to emerge later as a crisis (Chesler et al 2005). These dimensions are the elements that hold an organisation together and can be a powerful tool for change if those in power take effective action (Chesler et al 2005).

The next section examines the influence of new managerialism on the role of managers in executing equality, diversity and inclusion initiatives in the academy.

### *2.4.6 The impact of new managerialism on equality, diversity and inclusion*

As discussed in chapter one, the conservative government (during the 1980s under Thatcherism) influenced by neo-liberalism ideology, saw the free market as being compatible with the promotion of equality (Forbes 1996, cited in Dickens 1999). Consequently, local authorities began to align their human resources management (HRM) interventions with business strategy moving away from human resources (HR) driven bureaucratic equal opportunity (EO) initiatives which were seen to have had limited impact (Dickens 1999; Creegan et al 2003). This New Right agenda, asserted the right of managers to manage, interwoven with fiscal constraints and so on, and HR functions (such as recruitment, promotion, career development) were increasingly devolved to academic and line managers as a means of empowerment and their assertion of greater power and control, for increased cost efficiencies and savings (Creegan et al 2003; Deem and Brehony 2005).

At the time of the introduction of new managerialism (both in the UK and USA), little thought and value was given to EO reforms and therefore it was never initially, effectively woven into the institutional fabric (Williams et al 2005; Bhopal 2016). Consequently, EO was never mainstreamed and really considered as a legitimate feature of the organisation (Pollitt 1993, cited in Cunningham 2000<sup>19</sup>; Ledesma and Calderón 2015). Accordingly,

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<sup>19</sup> Cunningham's (2000) paper investigated the impact of new managerialism reforms on the public sector. She undertook qualitative research in a large civil service agency and two NHS Trusts between 1995 and 1998. Her empirical findings revealed significant tensions and contradictions

the relationship between new managerialism and equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) policies and practice have been fundamentally overlooked (Subeliani and Tsogas 2005; Ahmed 2012; Rocco et al 2014; Bhopal 2016; *THE University Workplace survey* 2016).

### *Managing EDI through discontinuous change*

New managerial changes have resulted in institutional overhauls (for example, a greater focus on: costs; student satisfaction; league tables of HEI performance; workload maximisation; increased staff accountabilities), creating discontinuities in the working environment of the academy. These discontinuities have proved a threat to, for example, the HEIs' collegiate culture and created a different role for managers in forging a new path for the future of the academy (Mintzberg 1984; Ansoff 1997; Kolsaker 2008; De Boer et al 2010; Dixit and Bhowmick 2011; ABS 2014; Marini and Reale 2015). These extrapolations within HEIs have been described in terms of "creative destruction" and "campus tsunami" (ABS 2014:4). Discontinuities, being linked to environmental: dynamism, complexity and uncertainty; as well as staff: hostility, homogeneity and heterogeneity in the academy (Mintzberg 1984; Ansoff 199; ABS 2014). In response, managers have to anticipate, comprehend, and interpret the implications of these discontinuities in order to execute new strategic and performance responses (Dixit and Bhowmick 2011). New managerialism therefore, has also been referred to as a return to macho management rather than a style of managing people that values individuality (Cunningham 2000; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

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between the values espoused by new managerialism and those that have traditionally underpinned EDI policies and practice. Her findings are relevant to this thesis, as the HE sector was simultaneously undergoing comparable turmoil and change.



In the UK, only passing references are made to the possible implications of new managerialism changes on issues of EDI (Cunningham 2000; Ahmed 2009, 2012; Bhopal 2016). In strengthening the role of line managers as resources become more decentralised, managers were placed with the responsibility for EDI policy and practice. Thus, academic managers continue to debate their role as professionals under new managerialism (Cuthbert 2011; Ahmed 2012; Fanghanel 2012; Lorenz 2012).

According to a number of authors (Cunningham 2000; Creegan et al 2003; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016), managing diversity was generally seen by managers in two ways. Firstly, as an alternative form of equal opportunities and grasped as a form of disguise in order to adapt to the new managerialism environment. Secondly, as a deferment of action chosen by besieged middle managers as a means of resisting or ignoring a business case for EDI as part of good business practice. Where efficiency savings and performance are paramount, managerial priorities will rarely include a high profile commitment to EDI policies and consequently, has caused a deepening of both gender and racial inequalities (Cunningham 2000; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016). The manager's new found freedom to manage however, may be interpreted as freedom to ignore the equality agenda. (Cunningham 2000).

As many English HEIs become increasingly pushed by managerialism, the emphasis on cost efficiencies, savings and performance remains salient. This accent presents a contradiction for managers in reconciling: daily managerial practices, EDI issues and their dual role as academic professionals (Cuthbert 2011; Ahmed 2012; Fanghanel 2012; Lorenz 2012). Managers' responses to the discontinuities being experienced could be both critical and specific in terms of their preparedness. For example, their capability to respond to the changes, whilst dealing with the uncertainty of priorities and their preferences for action (Dixit and

Bhowmick (2011). Managers may lack the skills, knowledge, experience and attitudes to deal with discontinuous change (Ansoff 1997; ABS 2014; Leadership Foundation Report 2015; *THE* University Workplace survey 2016).

The involvement of varying levels of management could also be different and equally dependent on their having dealt with similar types of developments and their competence to do so (Dixit and Bhowmick 2011; Lorenz 2012). Even though public commitment to EDI is made at senior level, middle managers still control the budget for staff training and development, and may decide other priorities are more pressing therefore concealing or even stifling the progress of EDI training and development (Cunningham 2000; Leadership Foundation Report 2015). EDI in turn, has become more challenging to manage in practice, as responsibilities for EDI are devolved from HR departments to line managers (Marini and Reale 2015). These challenges are heightened by the absence of training and development of managers in understanding and being enforcers of EDI (Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016; UCU 2016). As a result, its importance is minimised, contribution not recognised and broad levels of management ignorance displayed (Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

Devolving EDI responsibilities to line managers has diluted and compromised HR's role as custodians of fair practice and monitors of consistent application of procedures in relation to EDI (Creegan et al 2003; Ahmed 2012). Tackling discrimination is in effect left to staff, with those affected by discriminatory practices more likely to be aware of the existence of such practices, which then plays a crucial role in shaping their perceptions of the implementation of EDI policies (Creegan et al 2003; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

*EDI: the business case and image management*

There is no single definitive way to managing EDI effectively as the field is dispersed (Cunningham 2000; Ahmed 2009). EDI enters HEIs through their documents (for example, policies on recruitment, selection, promotion), not only as something the HEI is committed to, but as a quality the HEI already has, by virtue of the kinds of staff and students that already exist within the institution (Ahmed 2009). A business case driven EDI action plan is inevitably selective and partial, with different purchase in respect of different groups (Dickens 1997). There is no guarantee of matching between the needs of disadvantaged groups and the business interests of employers, whose equality agendas are often narrow (focused mainly on gender and minority ethnics in general) and short (in terms of promoting opportunities and training) (Dickens 1997, 1999; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

In the short term, EDI costs money and academic managers in taking a narrow cost-benefit approach, within tight financial control and having to meet short term performance indicators, may block EDI initiatives rather than promote them (Colling 1997 cited in Dickens 1999; Hopkins et al 2008; *THE University Workplace survey* 2015, 2016). Funding for EDI is then at risk, as efficiency savings become more important and developing an EDI policy relegated to little more than a cosmetic exercise (Cunningham 2000; Chesler et al 2005; Ledesma and Calderón 2015). The management support for EDI therefore becomes associated with a set of values unrelated to equality, difference, justice or diversity and hence appears potentially as much in conflict as supportive of them (Forbes 1996, cited in Dickens 1999; Williams et al 2005; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

In terms of EDI scope, some institutions favour a minimalist approach, having a focus on for example, recruitment, selection and promotion in ensuring fairness (Blakemore and Drake 1996, cited in Cunningham 2000). By contrast, others have a maximalist approach, exhibiting equality via representations of different groups at each organisational level (Blakemore and Drake 1996, cited in Cunningham 2000). In HEIs, both minimalist and maximalist attempts are made, often with an effort to integrate both or to create a hybrid approach to EDI (Cunningham 2000). However, problems remain with monitoring of practices not being undertaken, and as a result, a vast gap between EDI policies and the actual practice of managers exist (Cunningham 2000; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016; *THE University Workplace survey* 2015, 2016).

In HEIs' endeavour to promote their preference for adopting a maximalist approach to EDI, it becomes more challenging for this approach to be maintained and the pattern of disadvantage becomes more evident and emergent. HEIs achieve their maximalist approach through publications and assertions made through certification, reputational and image management (Ahmed 2009; 2012). For example, HEIs want pictures and photographs of Black and White people working together, presenting itself as a happy place where differences are celebrated, welcomed and enjoyed (Ahmed (2009) and people feel included and have a sense of belonging. However, in branding itself as being so diverse, the HEI works to conceal racism and also works to re-imagine itself as being anti-racist (Ahmed 2009).

The politics of EDI in HEIs has hence become about, "image management" and "diversity work is about generating the right image, and correcting the wrong one" (Ahmed 2009:45). On-lookers are therefore presumed to have the wrong perception, when they see the organisation as male, White and elite, because the senior managers believe that

Whiteness is “in the image”, rather than “in the organisation” (Ahmed 2009:45). Diversity is thus assumed to be about, “changing perceptions of Whiteness rather than changing the Whiteness of organisations” (Ahmed 2009).

Statistical evidence however, disputes these maximalist claims of EDI in several areas of minority ethnic groups’ representation (see for example ECU 2009, 2015b; HESA 2015a; 2016a, 2016b; UCU 2012a, 2016; Bhopal 2016). The maximalist approach in fact, exposes patterns of disadvantage within HEIs where horizontal and vertical segregation are both racialised and gendered; with job segregation employment pyramids (White men at the top) as normal (Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016). BME workers are over-represented in the lower graded jobs located at lower levels of the organisational structure (Dickens 1997; AUT 2005; ECU 2009, 2015b; HESA 2015a, 2016a, 2016b; UCU 2012a, 2016; Bhopal 2016).

Compliance is then interpreted as submitting a soundly constructed and praised (by externals) EDI policy and consequently, the HEI declares itself as being good at race equality. The documents that document racism are hence used as a measure of good performance, and when race equality becomes a performance indicator, it also serves as a warning beacon for those it is meant to support (Ahmed 2009). The use of documents may conceal the racism that takes place and is not a sign that issues of racism are being addressed (Ahmed 2009, 2012). Subsequently, there are significant tensions and contradictions apparent in the values espoused by new managerialism and those underpinning the policies and practice of EDI public sector organisations.

As the environment of the academy continues to change, the practical considerations of implementing new approaches to managing EDI creates new challenges for those most likely to be impacted, as well as for managers and HR institutional practitioners (Cunningham 2000; Ahmed 2009; Bhopal 2016). Shifts in management power have been underestimated by HR as well as academic managers (Deem and Brehony 2005; ABS 2014). In devolving many HR functions to line managers, their roles have become enhanced (Cunningham 2000; Cuthbert 2011; Dixit and Bhowmick 2011; Fanghanel 2012; Lorenz 2012; ABS 2014). Where managerial attitudes towards EDI policies are unsympathetic or hostile, temptation exists to side-line it altogether (Cunningham 2000; Creegan et al 2003; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016). Where managers are receptive, the dynamic pace of change and waves of new initiatives, has resulted in their using coping mechanisms where a blinkered approach has been undertaken, ignoring anything that appears irrelevant or marginal to the change process, often meaning EO initiatives being placed on hold until things slowed down and seen as an opportunity to scale down EDI work (Cunningham 2000; Creegan et al 2003; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

The next section examines briefly the issues of exploring gender with race.

#### *2.4.7 Gendered Race*

Much of the mainstream theories on feminism have a strong focus on gender differences thereby ignoring the differences such as ethnicity between women (Ludvig 2006; Brown 2012; Bhopal 2016). The literature on feminism implies that even though the collective reality of Black women can be shared, their experiences of oppression will not all be the same (Childers and hooks 1990; Arya 2012). There is a danger that all experiences will be categorised under the umbrella term feminism even

though there are different strands to the individual experiences. This failure of feminism to seemingly interrogate race may mean that Black women are likely to be further subordinated as strategies for resistance are focused mainly on the experiences of White women (Yuval-Davis 2006).

Black feminist literature is critical of the invisibility of the experiences and knowledge of Black women even in White feminist discourse (Maylor 2009) with many (Lorde 1984; Mirza 1997, Hill Collins 1990, hooks 1990) arguing for overriding (White) ways to be challenged and for Black women to be validated thus defining their own realities. Such confirmation enables the movement of Black female voices from the margins to the centre, encouraging critical and reflexive thinking about both gender and race (Reynolds 2002). It begins to remove the invisibility of non-recognition or misrecognition of African and Caribbean females (Taylor 1994) and their being defined by that which is reflected back (non-white male), giving rise to silent voices (Tatum 2004).

Having looked at some of the issues of gendered race, the next section moves on to explore the ways in which race can be examined in higher education.

## **2.5 Critical Race Theory**

Race is a social construct however some regard it strictly as an ideological construct, refuting the reality of a racialised society and its impact on “raced” people in their daily lives (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). However, objectifying race denies the problematic aspects of race for example, in deciding who fits into what classifications and how racial mixtures are classified and result in epistemological limitations (Omi and Winant 1994, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). Furthering that race has never been a top priority in social science and racial theory remains

one of the least developed fields of sociological inquiry (ibid) providing additional justification for my use of critical race theory.

### *2.5.1 Exploring critical race theory*

Critical race theory (CRT) first emerged in the mid-1970s as an American perspective and an outgrowth from an earlier legal movement called critical legal studies (Delgado 1995). The early work of Derrick Bell (an African American) and Alan Freeman (a White American), both of whom were deeply distressed over the slow pace of racial reform (Delgado 1995) was central to this movement and seen as a challenge to the positivist and liberal discourses of civil rights in the United States. CRT is concerned with equality and equity, which starts with race and may include other factors such as gender and challenging White norms (Rocco et al 2014).

CRT's fundamental notion is that racism is normal in American society (Delgado 1995; Ladson-Billings 1998) and not seen as being constructed. According to Wellman (1977, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995:55), racism can be defined as:

Culturally sanctioned beliefs, which regardless of the intentions involved defend the advantages Whites have because of the subordinated positions of racial minorities.

Idealists believe that racism is socially constructed, symptomatic of mental categorisation as a result of thoughts and attitude contrasted with the realist approach which suggests that racism is a means by which society determines status and privilege, i.e. who gets the best jobs (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). However, according to Bell (2008:624), "racism mutates and multiplies creating a range of racisms" (see also discussions of micro-aggressions in section 2.5.3). CRT therefore, shifts the research focus away from a deficit view of colour and race as a disadvantage and instead



casts its lens on and learns from, the array of cultural richness (knowledge, skills and abilities) of minority groups that are often unrecognized and unacknowledged (Yosso 2005).

CRT promotes storytelling as well as counter-story telling (dominant to the majority), the use of which allows for new creation of racial understanding and knowledge (Love 2004; Gillborn 2008). Storytelling thus becomes part of CRT because it underscores an important paradigm that race still matters and by extension, racism also matters (West 1992, cited in Ladson-Billings 1998; Ledsema and Calderón 2015). Storytelling is employed as a means to analyse the myths, pre-suppositions and received wisdoms that make up the common culture about race and that invariably subjugates Black people and other minority ethnic groups. CRT demands that race and racism should never be marginalised exposing racism in all its manifestations (Gillborn 2006a).

The primary tenets proposed under CRT's approach to education and leadership (based upon the work of, for example López 2003; Horsford 2010; Ladson-Billings 2013) as well as CRT's foundational tenets (outlined by Delgado and Stefancic 2000; DeCuir and Dixson 2004) and considered relevant in this study include: permanence of racism; Whiteness as property; counter storytelling and White majority narratives; interest convergence, critique of liberalism and intersectionality (Capper 2015). These tenets are illustrated in Table 2.1 below, and discussed further after it has been established why CRT is relevant to the UK HEI context.

**Table 2.1: Critical race theory tenets and key contributors**

	CRT tenet	Definition	Key sources
1	Permanence of racism	Racism, both conscious and unconscious is a permanent component of American life; society allocates status and privilege by race	Bell 1992; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Tate 1997; Ladson-Billings 1998
2	Whiteness as property	Because of the history of race and racism in the US and the role US jurisprudence has played in reifying conceptions of race, the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest.	Harris 1995; Ladson-Billings 1998; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995
3	Counter story-telling and majoritarian narratives	A method of telling a story that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths especially ones held by the majority;	Matsuda 1995; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Tate 1997; Delgado 1995; Ladson-Billings 1998; Solorzano and Yosso 2001
4	Interest convergence	Significant progress for Black people is achieved only when the goals of Black people are consistent with the needs of Whites	Bell 1980, 2004; Ladson-Billings 1998
5	Critique of liberalism	Critiques of basic notions embraced by liberal ideology to include colour-blindness, meritocracy and neutrality of the law	Crenshaw 1988; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Tate 1997; Ladson-Billings 1998
6	Intersectionality	Considers race across races and the intersection of race with other identities and differences.	Crenshaw 1991

Note: Adapted from Horsford (2010) and Capper (2015)

By placing race at the centre of its analysis, CRT provides a framework for theorising, examining and challenging the ways in which race can affect practice (Yosso 2005). For example, dysconscious racism is described as, “a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant White norms and privileges”, (King 2004:73). This form of racism is impaired or distorted consciousness as opposed to critical consciousness. CRT encourages this kind of distortion to be challenged in its discourse. Simultaneously, CRT can be applied analytically as a framework for exploring racial experiences in the academy (Brah and Phoenix 2004). Both Black feminism and CRT

value experiential knowledge and therefore CRT is useful in understanding and providing meanings to Black women's experiences in the academy (Maylor 2009).

Having set the context for CRT, the next section briefly explores the context of colonialism, the slave trade and slavery and how this history of empire, White supremacy and racism continues to impact key areas in both British and American societies in similar and different ways.

### *2.5.2 Role of racism in shaping British and American societies*

#### *Colonialism*

Colonialism was, "the effort made by early Europeans to maintain control of weaker nations" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012:158). As a result, many European nations acquired positions of economic, military, political and cultural domination in much of, Asia, Africa, Caribbean and Latin America, from around 1651 (Claypole and Robottom 1981a; Spence and Stam 1983; Sundquist 1996). The exploitative conditions suffered by many of the colonised, resonates in today's society and institutions with minorities (for example in South East Asia, parts of Latin America) still suffering from exploitative sweatshop conditions and their development suppressed (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

Europeans who colonised the Americas and the Caribbean sought to recreate it in their image, transforming these areas into White continents (Hacker 1992). With conquest came the power to impose European ways on subdued territories. Colonial society resembled that of England and distinctions of rank and status were universal and jealously preserved (Hacker 1992; Jones 1996). For example, men of property and standing were addressed as "gentlemen or esquires" and church pews and burial grounds were assigned by social class and ethnicity (Jones 1996:25). The bottom of the social structure was permanently constituted by slaves

(Jones 1996). From the colonial period, most Americans were of English ancestry, with English becoming the single national language and their economy and technology associated with the British. Newcomers were expected to adapt to the established models encountered (Hacker 1996).

*Colonisation giving rise to the slave trade and slavery*

During the mid-fifteenth century (from 1444) the slave trade emerged, and between 1500 and 1860, Europeans shipped over twelve million Africans as slaves, to the Americas in order to undertake manual labour in the plantations (Schama 2003; Durham University Library Archives/Slavery 2017). Slavery in the West Indies began in the earliest days of colonisation (around 1501) (Claypole and Robottom 1981a). The first Black people to reach the mainland colonies of America arrived in Virginia as early as 1619 (Jones 1996). After around 1660, legislation defined their status more precisely in differentiating them from White servants, with laws passed in the states of Virginia and Maryland declaring them and their children to be slaves for life (Jones 1996).

Britain became the leading slaving nation after Portugal, selling three million Africans into slavery (Aberdeen University Archives/Slavery 2017). Britain was the most dominant western empire between 1640 and 1807, and it is estimated that Britain transported 3.1 million Africans to the British colonies in the Caribbean, North and South America and to other countries (Schama 2003; British National Archives/Slavery 2017). Slavery therefore, became a means to utilise and exploit humanity for labour and support colonisation and European economic development (Harley 2013).

*Slavery in the USA*

Slavery however, became more embedded in America than in Britain as White slave owners lived amongst the slave population and therefore slavery became part of the White majority experience. Foreign immigration altered the ethnic composition of most of the American colonies with New England as an exception, remaining as ethnically homogeneous as its name implied (Jones 1996). Elsewhere, the population in America was in varying degrees cosmopolitan (Scots, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, German and French) with little intermingling between the groups (Jones 1996). This may have fuelled racism, as it was steeped in the segregation of races and therefore became more institutionalised (Hacker 1992; Jones 1996).

Slavery was abolished in the United States following the civil war in 1865. For most Black Americans, to be African American indicates that in that continent (Africa), lies their primal origin (Hacker 1992). The experiences of capture and transportation, of slavery and segregation have never diminished, or the basic culture and character of tribal ancestries erased (Hacker 1992). Even after slavery, Black Americans knew they were regarded as marginal in society. In coming from the least known continent, among the “burdens Black people bear, is the stigma of savage”, hence raising the question of whether people of African origin ever find acceptance in a predominantly White western European society (Hacker 1992:13).

Being Black appears to still bear the hallmark of slavery: seen as inferior and not suited for equality - the ideology that had provided the rationale for slavery has by no means disappeared (Hacker 1992). Rather than debate the stamina slaves must have shown to survive their ordeal, writers instead choose to recall with suspicion that innately, Black people must have been better suited for slavery (Hacker 1992; Jones 1996). However, during the Second World War, Black people were courted by American White society given a shortage of civilian labour and the need for them to

serve in the armed services. During the decades that followed they were no longer willing to revert to a subordinate status. This later resulted in the civil rights movement of the 1960s (Hacker 1992) with ensuing civil rights legislation influential in shaping US legislation in the 1970s (Dickens 2007).

The systematic nature of American racism was also described as “domestic colonialism” (Cruse 1968, cited in Peller 1995:144), arguing that instead of establishing a colonial empire in Africa, the USA brought the colonial system to America and installed it in the southern states. Black Americans therefore existed in a neo-colonial relationship with Whites, as a colonised people, dispersed throughout North America (Peller 1995). American institutions and systems might therefore be another form of the colonial relationship (Peller 1995).

### *Experiences of slavery in the British Empire*

The experience of slavery differed in the British Empire. Slaves largely resided in the colonies and British White people never lived amongst slaves in the UK in the same way as in America. Therefore, the USA became more shaped by race than in the UK (more shaped by class) as slavery never became a daily reality nor an integral part of the British psyche (Hacker 1992; Schama 2003; Nunn 2007).

Even though Britain was involved in the slave trade and slavery, their involvement was made more distant, and defence of the trade supported because most of the slaves resided in the colonies and out of sight from those making the arguments for its continued existence (Schama 2003; Nunn 2007). For example, Glasgow’s connection with slavery was mainly through the tobacco lords who bought tobacco from planters who employed Black slave labour (Glasgow University Library Archive /Slavery 2009). It was symbolic of the *hands-off* role of Glasgow and many other

cities in the business of slavery. The city, like many others, was economically dependent on chattel slavery, yet at the same time, far removed from its brutal realities, creating a myth of detachment and non-involvement (Mullen 2009).

Black transatlantic slavery was not simply something that happened to other people in another part of the world. Many in Britain both promoted and profited from it (British National Archives/Slavery 2017). Those promoting and defending the slave trade and slavery, were often privileged British, steeped in classicism and wanting to do nothing to change anything impacting on their levels of prosperity (Schama 2003). There were a number of Scots who defended the slave trade, such as Archibald Dalziel (1740-1811) of Kirkliston who ran a number of slaving depots in West Africa; and James MacQueen (1778-1870) who was the manager of a sugar plantation in Grenada around 1800. He later became editor of the *Glasgow Courier* which favoured West Indian merchant interests and opposed any rights for slaves (Glasgow University Library Archive /Slavery 2009). However, there were also many northerners who were in opposition and campaigned vigorously and courageously against slavery (British National Archives/Slavery 2017).

The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act was passed in Britain on 25 March 1807, with America passing similar legislation a year later (Schama 2003; British National Archives/Slavery 2017). Britain was willing to see the slaves free but with as little risk as possible to sugar producers, fearing that their sugar trade would be ruined once ex-slaves left the plantations (Claypole and Robottom 1981b). As a result of this fear, the colonies established apprenticeship schemes forcing the ex-slaves to work and be paid only for overtime (Claypole and Robottom 1981b).

Even though slavery was abolished in Britain and its colonies in 1834, in reality for many of those enslaved, it continued until at least 1838 through these apprenticeship schemes (British National Archives/Slavery 2017). However, emancipation revolts in the Caribbean started in 1816 once slaves knew about the emancipation campaigns (Claypole and Robottom 1981a): cane fields were burned in Barbados and Jamaica as symbols of bondage and toil; and slaves refused to return to work in Jamaica after Christmas. Thousands of slaves were killed along with only a handful of White people as attempts by the planters to suppress and delay emancipation continued (Claypole and Robottom 1981a).

#### *Post slavery impact*

After the slave trade was abolished and slaves could no longer be imported, the search for indentured immigrants began. Chinese from Malaya, Madeirans from the former Portuguese colony, Indians from Mauritius and India made their way to the Caribbean in search of higher wages and were recruited as paid labourers (Claypole and Robottom 1981a). According to Hacker (1992), Black people from the Caribbean seek to retain a more independent history than Black Americans. Their forebears also originated from Africa and served as slaves, but Black people born in, for example, Jamaica or Barbados or Haiti or Martinique make clear the British or French connections that distinguish them from other Black people (Hacker 1992). This emphasis is not to render them less Black in terms of colour, but rather they wish it that their antecedents are not exclusively African but also bear a European imprint (Hacker 1992). Considering the variety of ethnicity of indentured labour introduced into the West Indies after slavery ended, this diversity may have impacted their sense of identity (Hacker 1992). Consequently, in the UK, the Caribbean population has assimilated more successfully than any other immigrant group of modern times (Olusoga 2016).



By the time Britain abolished slavery, it had been in existence for over 400 years. There is thus, evidence of involvement and established links between ancient and traditional universities with the slave trade and influence on colonies, therefore links with racism and classicism (Hacker 1992; Jones 1996; Sundquist 1996; Wilder 2014). With a number of vice chancellors emerging from traditional and elite universities<sup>20</sup>, immersed in cultures of privilege and elitism, as well as middle class graduates transitioning into graduate and management development schemes in the public and private sector, there is a likelihood of transference and cascade of behaviour not just into post-1992 HEIs, but other public sector organisations, where their expectations and actions become based upon their own middle class ideologies.

Push and pull factors in the 1950s and 1960s strongly influenced the emigration of Black people from the ex-colonies and attracted labour from the colonies to Britain (Claypole and Robottom 1981a). Many of the immigrants had been actively recruited to come to England to fill jobs that White British people did not want to do. As a result, White people found themselves living side by side with Black people and their presence in sizeable numbers triggered deep fears in White British people (Bryan et al 1985). Living in close proximity, latent tensions and conflicts inherent in the established relationship between White Britons and their colonised Black people were activated (Prescod-Roberts and Steele 1980; Bryan et al 1985; Bhavnani 1994). The anxieties and fears of Black people were provoked by the dominant racist images of Black people (Mama 1995). Fears of Britain being swamped by Black people and of White people losing their jobs, produced various forms of attacks on Black people (Mama 1995).

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<sup>20</sup> For example, the universities of: Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Durham, Birmingham and Cardiff, all currently have Vice Chancellors who have attended ancient and early modern universities. (<http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/about/Pages/member-institutions.aspx>; [www.russellgroup.ac.uk](http://www.russellgroup.ac.uk), both accessed 16th January 2017).

*Slavery giving rise to segregation in the USA*

Jim Crow laws<sup>21</sup> established the principle of separate but equal, in the southern states of the USA (starting in Florida in 1887) (Jones 1996). This principle of segregation was systematically extended by state and local law to every human activity: streetcars, parks, theatres, hotels, hospitals, residential districts, even cemeteries (Jones). These historic decisions continue to set the pattern of race segregation in modern America (Jones 1996). However, according to Thompson Ford (1995), the word segregation has disappeared from the American vocabulary. To speak of segregation is considered as quaint, as many believe the issue of physical segregation of the races had already been addressed (Thompson Ford 1995). However, even as racial segregation has fallen from the national agenda it has persisted (Thompson Ford 1995), playing the same role it always has, to isolate, disempower and oppress.

*Current dynamics on racism in major areas of British and American life*

Legislation for racial equality, diversity, inclusion and social justice, both in the UK and the USA, “can be seen as a placebo: a fake treatment, meant to placate concern but making no actual attempt to address the central problem” (Gillborn 2006b:12). As a result, institutional racism represents the seriousness of the problem in a number of systems that continue to exclude and fail Black people (Hacker 1992; Gillborn 2006b; Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Ladson-Billings 2013). In turn, racism may be the means by which White people secure material advantages over minority ethnic people (Bell 2008). The areas where Black people tend to be disadvantaged are: education, employment, living standards, health and

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<sup>21</sup> Jim Crow laws were state and local laws enforcing racial segregation in the Southern United States. Enacted after the Reconstruction period, these laws continued in force until 1965.

care (EHRC 2016) with other areas such as crime and poverty frequently associated with Black people (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Howard and Reynolds 2013). The rest of this section draws extensively upon the findings from the EHRC's recent review <sup>22</sup>(2016) on race inequality in the UK.

### *Education*

Much of the research literature from the UK and the USA illustrates how much less is expected of Black students in terms of academic success compared to their peers (see for example, DeCuir and Dixson 2004; Gillborn 2006b; Housee 2008; Hylton 2009, 2012; Warmington 2012; Maylor 2014; Mickelson 2015; Zirkel and Pollack 2016). In addition, authors of the Bell Curve<sup>23</sup> have argued that, minority ethnic students may be biologically inferior to White students, so disparate representation and performance in selective schools should not be surprising.

In the UK, Black students are being failed at a number of levels. Serious strains on the educational systems are alluded to and allegations made, that schools reach tipping points when around, "45% of students come from ethnic minorities" (Cantle 2005, cited in Gillborn 2006b:13). Black children are stereotyped as low achievers and consequently, often entered for foundation tier exams whilst also being challenging to teach and manage, leading to high rates of exclusion (see for example, Housee 2008; Hylton 2009, 2012; Warmington 2012; Maylor 2014). Black children have rates of permanent school exclusion about three times that of the pupil population as a whole and just 6% of Black school leavers attended a

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<sup>22</sup> The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) undertake a statutory five-yearly report on equality and human rights progress in England, Scotland and Wales. 'Healing a divided Britain', is a review into race inequality in Great Britain, providing comprehensive analysis and evidence on whether our society lives up to its promise to be fair to all its citizens.

<sup>23</sup> The publication of "The Bell Curve", by R. Herrnstein and C. Murray (1991) enraged many, with its contention that Black children are genetically less able to learn because of their race, and its suggestions that some groups may be less worthy of the expenditure of attention and resources because of a reduced capacity for education.

Russell Group university, compared with 11% of White school leavers (EHRC 2016).

In the USA, during the era of segregation, the Black segregated school served as safe houses where students enjoyed caring but demanding teachers who held high expectations for academic success (Horsford and Grosland 2013). However, similar research in schools in the USA confirm the same stereotypes found in the UK, with Black children often segregated in certain schools in predominantly Black areas, in under-resourced schools with less skilled teachers (see for example, Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Ladson-Billings 1998, 2013; López 2003; Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Brown and Jackson 2013; Capper 2015; Mickelson 2015; Zirkel and Pollack 2016) and in support of Black educational leadership (Horsford 2010; Gooden and Dantley 2012; Capper 2015).

Through state-authorised and enforced public school racial segregation, White people have shaped the educational fortunes of their Black counterparts (Donnor 2013; Richards 2014; Mickelson 2015; Zirkel and Pollack 2016) and continue to do so, using rhetorical devices and discursive narratives (Richards 2014; Mickelson 2015). However, de-segregation has resulted in disconnects between school, family and the community, having a significant impact for Black student achievement (Horsford and Grosland 2013; Richards 2014; Mickelson 2015), with Black students completing fewer years of school on average, than White students (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Richards 2014; Mickelson 2015; Zirkel and Pollack 2016).

In higher education in the UK, there is evidence of racial discrimination in for example, recruitment, selection, promotion, training and internal funding for research, conferences and even support for research into minority ethnic areas (see for example, Mirza 2008; Arya 2012; Ahmed

2009, 2012; Bhopal and Jackson 2013; Warmington 2014; Bhopal 2014, 2016; ECU 2015a UCU 2016). The impact of varying forms of racism in English HEIs is considered further in sections 2.5.4 to 2.5.9.

Racism also persists in HEIs in the USA, with Black academics less likely to be concentrated in prestigious and research intensive universities compared with their White counterparts (Jackson 2008). Black American academics experience: lower salary levels, heavier teaching loads, less time to spend on research and publications and lack of performance rewards, compared to their White counterparts (Jackson 2008).

Affirmative action was adopted in 1965 in the USA to include schools and universities (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Universities set aside no formal quota for minorities and sought to compare every candidate with every other. In carefully observing these limitations, race could be considered as one factor among many, to achieve a diverse intellectual environment (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). However, conservatives argued that affirmative action balkanises the country, stigmatises minorities, violates the merit principle and constitutes reverse discrimination (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

Inequalities in educational opportunity lead to fewer and less remunerative employment options and opportunities and hence lower income for Black people. Poorer Black people are therefore unable to move into more privileged neighbourhoods and remain segregated and few if any White people would move into poorer Black neighbourhoods which would be burdened by higher taxes or inferior public services (Thompson Ford 1995). Both employment and living standards are considered next.

### *Employment*

In the UK during 2015-16, unemployment rates were significantly higher for minority ethnic people at 12.9% compared with 6.3 % for White people (EHRC 2016). Black school leavers with A-levels typically get paid 14.3% less than their White peers and Black graduates earn 23.1% less on average, than similarly qualified White workers. Black workers were more than twice as likely to be in insecure forms of employment such as temporary employment contracts or working for an agency (EHRC 2016). Over the last five years, the number of young minority ethnic sixteen to twenty-four year olds in the UK who were long-term unemployed, has almost doubled (49% increase), whereas for young White people in the same period, it fell (2%) slightly (EHRC 2016).

Minority ethnic people in the UK, continue to be underrepresented in higher positions in public life (HESA 2015a; ECU 2008, 2009; EHRC 2016) and significantly lower percentages of Black people (5.7%) work as managers, directors and senior officials, compared with White people (10.7%). In the USA, middle class or professional status is less secure because of race, and important office holders such as chief executive officers, surgeons, university presidents are predominantly White (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Black people in the UK and the USA tend to occupy more menial jobs than White workers (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; EHRC 2016).

### *Living standards*

Housing provides more than shelter. It provides social status, access to jobs, education and other services (Thompson Ford 1995). According to the EHRC (2016), minority ethnic people were more likely to live in poverty (35.7%) compared with White people (17.2%). Black adults were also more likely to live in substandard and over-crowded accommodation than White people (26.8% of Black people compared with 8.3% for White people) (EHRC 2016).

In the USA, explicit governmental policy at the local, state and federal levels has encouraged and facilitated geographical racial segregation (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). For example, the federal government consistently gave Black neighbourhoods the lowest rating for purposes of distributing federally subsidised mortgages (Thompson Ford 1995). The federal housing administration which insured private mortgages, advocated the use of zoning and deed restrictions to bar undesirable people and classified Black neighbours as nuisances to be avoided along with “stables” and “pig pens” (Abrams 1955, cited in Thompson Ford 1995:451). Real estate agents and other White businesses that catered to Black clients, were threatened with boycotts and withdrawal of patronage (Massey and Denton 1993, cited in Thompson Ford 1995).

Black families in the USA own significantly fewer assets on average than White counterparts and pay more for many products and services including cars and insurance (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Black people seeking loans and dwelling were more likely to be rejected than similar qualified White people (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). This denial of loans and mortgages, prevented Black people from owning homes after world war two and benefitting from appreciations in property value. Confinement of Black people to some neighbourhoods, limited which schools were available and perpetuated a cycle of exclusion from opportunities, for upward mobility (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Even after the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, Black people were less likely to be rehoused and waited a longer time than White people as redevelopment in new Orleans placed an emphasis on middle and upper income residents with poorer (mainly Black) residents left to fend for themselves (Ladson-Billings 2013).

### *Crime*

When accused of crimes, rates of prosecution and sentencing for Black people in England and Wales were three times higher than for White people. For prosecutions, it was eighteen per thousand population, compared with six, per thousand population for White people. For sentencing, it was thirteen per thousand population for Black people and five per thousand population for White people (EHRC 2016). However, Black people were more often the victims of crime and more than twice as likely to be murdered in England and Wales (EHRC 2016). The homicide rate for Black people was 30.5 per million population, and 8.9 for White people. Minority ethnic people in police custody in England and Wales were significantly more likely to be physically restrained than White people (EHRC 2016).

In the USA, mass incarceration over the last three decades has disproportionately affected Black males more than any other group and subsequently, they are often faced with varying obstacles to re-enter society post incarceration (Howard and Reynolds 2013). Black people in the USA are often incarcerated for minor crimes in some areas, with minority ethnic motorists and pedestrians frequently stopped to search for drugs or other contraband (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). The prolonged stigma that comes with incarceration has a direct effect on the ability to access public housing, public assistance, political participation and most importantly the securing of employment (Howard and Reynolds 2013).

Black medical doctors, lawyers or executives attract suspicion in for example, different transportation modes (trains, cars) or even arriving at their offices earlier or leaving later than usual (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Similarly, in the UK there is also evidence that Black professionals or middle class workers are more likely to be stopped in possession of expensive vehicles or in certain residential areas (Olusoga 2016; EHRC 2016).



### *Health and care*

According to the EHRC (2016), there was a significantly disproportionate number of minority ethnic people detained under mental health legislation in hospitals in England and Wales In 2014. The probability of Black women being detained under mental health legislation in England, was more than seven times higher than for White British women (EHRC Report 2016). Black women had a mortality rate four times higher than White women in the UK (EHRC 2016). Similarly in the USA, Black people led shorter lives and received worse medical care (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

### *Poverty*

Poverty and race intersect and often has a Black face with Delgado and Stefancic (2012) asserting that, White poverty may last a generation or two but Black poverty can last forever.

Historically, being Black and male has raised serious challenges in terms of recognition as a citizen and the ability to participate as an equal in a racist, capitalist society (Howard and Reynolds 2013). From slavery through to share-cropping and subsequent Jim Crow laws, Black men in the USA were structurally locked out of pathways of participation through oppression and disenfranchisement, “because Black men did hard manual labor [sic], justifying the harsh conditions forced upon them required objectifying their bodies as big strong and stupid” (Hill Collins 2004, cited in Howard and Reynolds 2013:242). Consequently, Black males find themselves at the bottom of most social and economic indices (Howard and Reynolds 2013; EHRC 2016).

In the UK, people from minority ethnic groups were twice as likely to live in poverty compared to White people across Britain (EHRC 2016). However in the USA, even though more White people receive welfare than Black people, society tolerates poverty (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; EHRC 2016).

### *Section Summary*

Relationships between Black and White people and perceptions of Black people and their ability in the UK and the USA were largely formed in the course of the slave trade and slavery. White relationships in Britain are also influenced by the colonial experience. Institutional racism in HEIs as a result of internal colonialism supports the system by which Black people are perpetually disadvantaged (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967; Sivanandan 1983). Each of these systems in turn resulting in challenges in their being denied options and opportunities for participation in mainstream society. It has been argued in the USA that even if racism could be magically eliminated, racial segregation would be likely to continue as long as there was income polarisation and segregation of the races (Thompson Ford 1995). If racism could be overcome by education and rational persuasion, in the absence of further interventions, racial segregation would remain indefinitely (Thompson Ford 1995). Black people are often presented as the problem resulting in poor race relations (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Commonly in both the USA and the UK changes created through legislation are superficial, and where imposed, the response of HEIs is resistance or simply paying lip service, but having no intentions of going beyond compliance with the letter of the law. Change is required at all levels in relation to inclusive policy-making, if EDI is to be valued (Bhopal 2016).

Having explored the impact of colonialism as well as some of the antecedents, differences and similarities in racism experienced in the UK and the USA, the next section now moves on to explore CRT in a UK setting.

### 2.5.3 *CRT in a UK context: relevance*

The application of CRT has primarily been used to understanding discrimination in education contexts in the USA (for example, Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Tate 1997; Ladson-Billings 1998; López 2003); and discrimination in educational leadership in the USA (for example, Horsford 2010; Gooden and Dantley 2012; Ladson-Billings 2013; Capper 2015). CRT's robustness in the UK will be dependent upon taking the same kind of historically grounded approach that CRT has taken in the USA (Warmington 2012). However, CRT in the UK is in a state of infancy compared to CRT in the USA. There are also differences in USA and UK histories, legal, political and education systems as well as in the ways race and racialisation are evidenced. For example, by slavery in the British Empire which was ended by law not civil war, despite their being slave revolts in some of the overseas colonies (Gillborn 2013; Bhopal 2016). The legal system was also used to make separate provision for the education of Black and White students in the USA until 1954 (discussed in Gillborn 2008; Maylor 2014). Given the different histories and education systems in the USA and the UK, the question may be raised as to why and how CRT can be relevant to UK education contexts.

According to Gillborn (2008:26):

There is no reason...why (CRT's) underlying assumptions and insights cannot be transferred usefully to...the UK.

The transfer of CRT to other spaces in the UK has been pioneered by, for example: Gillborn 2006a, 2008; Housee 2008; Hylton 2009, 2012; Warmington 2012; Savas 2014. CRT has mainly been applied to English schools through Gilroy (1987) and Gillborn's (2004, 2006, 2008) studies of race and racism. The application of CRT by Warmington (2014), to research on Black British intellectuals as well as Housee's (2008) more universal approach to Black lecturers in the UK begins to create evidence

of CRT in UK higher education, and will also help my understanding of the context of race in the higher education sector in the UK. My study's focus on Black women in post-1992 English institutions will add to the knowledge in this area and move beyond previous application of CRT in the UK.

The assertion of Black people's subjectivities in research is vital to rising above accounts where Black people in Britain are often rendered external and alien. Consequently, they only drift into public debate and policy at moments of crisis but remain "objects rather than subjects; beings that feel, yet lack the ability to think and remain incapable...in an active mode" (Gilroy 1987:11).

In this thesis, by utilising CRT to analyse Black women's experiences of new managerialism, the discussion about race in the academy is made broader and deeper and not just focused on an analysis of racism alone, which would be an insufficient contribution to race equality (Gillborn 2008). Moreover, given this study's focus on Black women in the academy, a greater emphasis is placed upon exploring the pervasiveness of race. The other tenets are considered in more brevity. Counter-stories and the critique of liberalism are used contextually and in an applicable way within the study.

In the following sections, each CRT tenet is discussed in greater detail.

### *2.5.4 CRT Tenet: Racism is endemic*

This fundamental tenet of CRT suggests that racism is normal or ordinary and not aberrant in (American) society and that status and privilege is allocated by race (Delgado 1995; Delgado and Stefancic 2001) thus legitimising perpetual discrimination (Crenshaw 1988). Racism is therefore pervasive, often deeper, often invisible, more insidious than known and

considered normal (Ladson-Billings 2013). There is evidence of overt, prevalent and persistent racism in education and in many instances amounting to blatant acts of hate (López 2003; Capper 2015). Racism being embedded is considered as an acknowledgement of racial realism understanding that racism is real and endemic in society (Brown and Jackson 2013).

Racial realism opposes the issues facing White people of coming to grips with the demands made by Black people. As a result, White people avoid the possibility of institutional changes and re-organisation that might affect them (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). Racism is not a series of isolated acts but is endemic in everyday life, deeply ingrained legally, culturally and even psychologically, with laws seeking to remedy racial injustices often undermined before they can fulfil their promise (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). It has been reported that Black women in the UK were more likely than any other group to report incidences of discrimination at work (Carter et al 1999; Jones 2006; ECU 2009; Arya 2012). This permanence and constancy of racism is described as a “tradition in ceaseless motion – a changing same”, inferring that the more things change the more they remain the same for Black academics (Gilroy 1993, cited in Warmington 2012:7).

### *Using micro-politics in racism*

Neo-liberal equity initiatives and interventions for modernisation and change within HEIs have been supported or obstructed as a result of micro-politics in the environment. In defining micro-politics Blasé (1991, cited in Morley 2008:100) state it is:

About power and how people use it to influence others and to protect themselves...about conflict...to get what they want...to achieve their own ends.

Micro-politics is therefore endemic to all organisations with control and conflict as central parts of organisational life having the power to block strategies for change, garner opposition or even asserting minority issues and identities (Morley 2008). Micro-politics reveals the increasingly subtle and sophisticated ways in which supremacy is achieved in the academy as well as used to stifle or withhold information. For example, racism conveyed through routine management practices and assessments of work competence and capability is furthered through minority ethnic staff rarely being promoted in the same way as White colleagues (ECU 2015a). Micro-politics is therefore seen as a strategy by which racism is spread in the academy, using a subtle approach, which could be difficult to prove. Therefore it is helpful to understand organisational micro-politics in order to better comprehend gender discrimination and other inequalities that occur on a daily basis (Morley 2008).

Micro-politics is difficult to capture, label and mobilise around issues to do with discrimination and easy to submerge in other organisational decisions having nothing to do with discrimination (Mavin and Bryans 2002, cited in Morley 2008). Micro-politics in the academy is used to conceal what might really be going on but cannot be described or named with enough satisfaction, thereby giving the appearance that it is not being used at all thus disguising real attempts at subordination. However, micro-politics may help to extend understanding of what Black women experience in the academy and what may seem trivial may have greater significance when located in a wider context. Therefore, an understanding of inferences, codes and language used as important factors of micro-politics is necessary. However, boundaries in micro-politics may be held and policed by peers and students making challenges more difficult to locate, therefore encouraging the behaviour and furthering the racialisation of specific groups in their treatment to others (Morley 2008; Rocco et al 2014).

*Micro-aggressions*

CRT theorists have found that minority ethnic groups daily experiences are fuelled by micro-aggressions which tend to be brief and commonplace indignities intended or not that communicate negative racial slights (Rocco et al 2014). Consequently, discrimination and micro-aggressions occur via sarcasm, jokes, exclusions and throwaway remarks (Morley 1999 in Morley 2008:107), making formal complaints difficult to pursue. The sender of these micro-aggressions may perceive such comments as amusing or true and any response made, construed as humourless or even touchy (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Racial insults differ qualitatively from mere insults because they not just conjure up a whole history of racial discrimination but are often long-lasting and could be a trigger to other similar actions by those doling out the insults (Delgado 1982, cited in Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Consequently, many discriminatory experiences remain hidden from official policy interventions for equality (Deem et al 2005). Subtle discrimination is difficult to pinpoint and overcome even though it is there and to be seen to react against trivia is further evidence of lack of rationality and emotional over-sensitivity for the Black academic (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

Empathic fallacy is a misguided conviction that social reform can be achieved through speech, "...belief that one can change a narrative by simply offering another, better one" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012:33). The remedy for inappropriate discourse and dialogue it appears, to be more of the same. Empathic fallacies are also created when a minority ethnic person finds him/herself on the end of a callous comment and is instructed not to punish the speaker but rather to speak back to the offender (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). However, the extent to which recipients can speak back to: messages sent, images posted or even stereotypes conferred, is challenging and in doing so results in exposing the recipient as being over-sensitive (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). These messages

and stereotypes are often embedded in the psyche of the sender thus expecting a better-informed response, becomes questionable. Conversations therefore become unidirectional as dominance is asserted by the sender (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

The use of micro-aggressions supports the existence of conscious or unconscious racism<sup>24</sup> and what is described as “dog-whistle politics” (Palmer Cook 2012:1). This type of politics occurs when speech is used in a coded manner to send a specific message to the intended recipient (like a dog-whistle) which is unrecognised by others (Palmer Cook 2012). This dog-whistle approach is described as covert racism as, “racial pandering operates on two levels: inaudible and easily denied in one range, yet stimulating strong reactions in another” (Haney López 2014:3). This form of racism is accommodated within institutional policies, sometimes in their wording or even execution, yet contributors to the policies appear to vehemently condemn those who use racial profanity yet a “steady drumbeat of subliminal racial grievances to colour-coded solidarity” persist (Haney López 2014:3).

This trigger of consciousness has the potential to be a key determinant in identity construction as in leaving racial insinuations unchallenged under a colour-blindness ideology such as that promoted in HEIs, enables dog-whistle politics to resonate even more (Haney López 2014). Delgado and Stefancic (2012) concur that if racism is deeply embedded, then the ordinary business in the organisation will continue to subordinate minorities. New language and constructions of race are denoted in ways that remain submerged and hidden and executed in methods that are

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<sup>24</sup> Conscious racism tends to be overt and readily displayed whereas unconscious racism operates at a subtle or unconscious level and considered as small acts of racism (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).



offensive albeit without identification. Consequently, notions of conceptual Whiteness and conceptual Blackness become developed (King 1995, cited in Ladson-Billings 1998).

Conceptual categories such as middle-classness, maleness, beauty, intelligence become normative categories of Whiteness, while categories such as gangs and underclass become marginalised categories of Blackness. Whiteness is positioned as the standard and everyone is ranked and categorised in relation to these conceptual points of opposition. For example, a Black female academic can be positioned as conceptually White, in relation to a Polish speaking cleaner, with class and social position overriding racial identification, and in that instance, she becomes conceptually White (Ladson-Billings 1998).

Simply naming power relations can be a form of power as the voice given to oppressed groups can be subjugated and often rendered irrelevant. A feature of micro-politics is that it leaves victims of discrimination unsure about the accuracy of their interpretations. Therefore, they may end up self-blaming, resulting in further confirmation of evidence to themselves and others that they are not suitable or relevant (Morley 2008; Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

### *Race as a factor in inequity*

Under-pinning critical race theory is the social construction thesis, which believes that race and races are derived as a result of social thoughts and relations, a common belief being that people with common origins share common traits ignoring distinctive and defining higher order abilities (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Indeed, biologists, geneticists, anthropologists and sociologists agree that race is not a scientific reality with gene sequencing revealing no perceptible differences between races (Ladson-Billings 2013). Instead, people have constructed social categories

that rely heavily upon arbitrary differences such as: skin colour, hair texture, eye shape and lip size, using these differences to create hierarchy and an ideology of White supremacy (Ladson-Billings 2013). However, there is sameness about people belonging to a certain race and a readiness by others to infer a presumed homogenisation of people of colour when necessary (Ladson-Billings 1998). Even though it is accepted that people with common origins may share certain physical traits, they have different personalities, intelligence and so on (Rushton and Jensen 2005; Ng et al 2012; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). This approach to racial stereotyping further embeds racism in the institution.

### *Education and intelligence*

For Black women, education is key to their developing a true sense of space on the margins (Freire 2004). For a Black person to become educated is to become human and therefore provide even greater credence to raising their voices in the academy, Mirza and Reay (2000). However, despite the fact that significantly more BME academics state their highest qualification as a PhD and that Black academics are likely to be better qualified than their White colleagues (ECU 2015a), Black women remain under-represented and under-employed in a racially segmented HE market (Mirza 2003; Bhopal 2014; ECU 2015a). Even though Black academics have acquired appropriate skills and qualifications to articulate and perform in their specific disciplines therefore qualifying them as insiders, they are still seen as outsiders in the academy (Wright et al 2007; Mirza 2008; ECU 2009, 2015). There appears to be a contradiction between the continuing marginalisation of Black women in the academy and their persistent desire to be educated as social transformation (Mirza 2008; Metcalf and Forth 2000). Black women therefore need to ask questions as to what shapes their world and how they are implicated through inclusion (Mirza 2006b).

BME staff report experiences of invisibility, marginalisation and racial discrimination in the academy (Deem et al 2005; Jones 2006; Mirza 2008; Bhopal 2016) as well as negative assumptions made about their abilities, which they feel are influenced by their ethnicity (Wright et al 2007; Johnson 2008). BMEs tend to find their niches for example in teaching or research, either already carved out for them by male elites or as newcomers into the moulds of academic discipline in newer and uncharted areas of study. However, some of these areas are not always given the same value compared with more established subjects (Maher and Tetreault 2007).

### *Progression*

Being a Black person has and continues to be associated with poor performance (Wright et al 2007; Johnson 2008). A Black woman academic was seen as a trespasser seeking to rise above her “proper social position” (Palmer Cook 2012:17) which would infer not just ubiquity of race but a desire to preserve the Whiteness of the academy, excluding others from gaining positions of influence (Capper 2015). Over a third of Black workers feel that they have been overlooked for promotion (Race at work report, 2015).

### *Stereotyping*

HEIs have been described as decentralised, hierarchical fiefdoms created by wealthy White men with many White professors having very limited experiences of interacting with minority ethnic groups or women as colleagues or superiors (Chesler et al 2005; Conklin and Robbins-McNeish 2006). This has led to a one-dimensional or stereotyped view of Black women:

...scholars of colour are narrowly focussed or lacking in intellectual depth...whatever our history... record... validation... accomplishments... we are perceived as one-dimensional and

treated accordingly... fit for addressing the marginal subjects of race, but not subjects in the core curriculum. (Madrid 1991, cited in Haney López 1993:127)

Black female academics are subject to “stereotype threat”, the phenomenon that negative stereotypes can be internalised by individuals thus impairing performance which in turn confirms the stereotype (Syed et al 2011:446). Therefore, BME staff often feel their work is over scrutinised and their ability doubted, resulting in their having to prove themselves in ways that non-BME staff do not (Wright et al 2007; Johnson 2008). Interestingly, this threat is more associated with Black student outcomes, for example students who are expected to perform well, under-perform for the same reasons as stated for BME staff (Syed et al 2011).

#### *2.5.5 CRT Tenet: Whiteness as property*

Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the USA as their society was based upon historical property rights. The purpose of the Government was to protect property as the main object of society, as well as the rights of the property owners. Subsequently, there was a lack of incentive to protect the human rights of African Americans (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995:58) further that “more pernicious and long lasting than the victimization [sic] of people of color [sic] is the construction of Whiteness as the ultimate property”, that only some can possess naturally as with it come privileges and status.

This theoretical tenet therefore proposes that there is an expectation and reliance upon a unique set of benefits and privileges associated with Whiteness. White skin and Whiteness have therefore become exclusive forms of private property, which must be “constantly affirmed, legitimated and protected” (Harris 1995, cited in Donnor 2013:195). The use of this Whiteness is interpreted as something to which value and power is seen to

be attached. Hacker (1992) in an exercise with his college students raised the question of what amount of compensation they would seek if forced to become a Black person. Students asked for fifty million dollars or one million dollars for each coming Black year. Hacker concluded that this exercise illustrated the material and social value that White people place on their possession of Whiteness. “The money would be used ... to buy protection from the discriminations and dangers White people know they would face once they were perceived to be Black”, despite these students saying that life today<sup>25</sup> is better for Black people (Hacker 1992:32). This emphasises the point that Whites possess a property that Black people do not have and as a result it becomes exclusive (Ladson-Billings 1998).

Harris (1993:1726) stated that, “Whiteness defines the legal status of a person as slave or free.” To be White means to be liberated and by having self-ownership the person has identity. Whiteness is then assumed to have a social advantage that accompanies it “affirming self-identity and liberty” (Harris 1993: 1743). White privilege was therefore accorded based on race and to protect it was to devalue those who were not White. It was valued because it was denied to others and seen as the critical core of a system affirming hierarchical relations between White and Black people (Harris 1993). Therefore, for all HEIs, because of their historical inhabitants, “Whiteness becomes an exclusive club whose membership was closely and grudgingly guarded” (Harris 1993:1736).

HEIs are reflective of a domain where it appears that men and masculinity are locked into one another in ways that exclude or marginalise women (Knights and Richards 2003). However, there is a hierarchy of exclusion for White and Black female academics, with Black women more likely to be excluded (Bhopal 2016). Feeling like outsiders in the academy or invisible to others by virtue of race or gender can result in a natural exclusion from

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<sup>25</sup> The quote uses the word “today”, but the quote itself was made in 1992.

activities and groups and ultimately career aspirations, with BME academics more likely to be given part-time contracts of employment compared to White academics (ECU 2015b).

This feeling is reflective of the concept of “new property” which embraces tangibles such as jobs, contracts, occupational licences as well as intangibles such as intellectual property (Reich 1964, cited in Harris 1993:1728). This concept of new property is assumed as a constant of society directing attention to relevant power sources (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). For CRT theorists, in HEIs, Whiteness becomes a means of determining who is entitled to for example, research time, conference financial support, reduction in teaching hours, meaningful and relevant units to teach (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Gillborn 2013).

### *Property functions of Whiteness*

Harris (1993) defined four property functions of Whiteness to include the exclusive rights of possession, use and disposition providing more depth to the descriptions of property. The first proposition being termed as, rights of disposition. Property rights described as being fully alienable (transferrable) when for example, conferred upon performance or rewarded for conformity to perceived White norms where recognised favours may be bestowed (Harris 1993).

The second proposition is designated as the rights to use and enjoyment. As Whiteness is seen as an aspect of identity and property, it is something that can be experienced and enjoyed. Privileges are given and advantages are gained by virtue of being White. Whiteness allows for extensive use for example of academic property space, structure of curriculum and greater control over autonomy and academic freedom (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). The use of power to make choices is seen as congruent with property rights (Harris 1993).

The third proposition relates to reputation and status property. Whiteness is regarded as a thing of significant value bound within identity and person (Harris 1993). Reputation therefore becomes an intrinsic part of the person within the ownership of property and viewed as status (Harris 1993). To damage reputation, as demonstrated in cases of libel and slander is to damage some aspect of personal property (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995) as “every man (sic) has a property in his own person” (Locke 1968, cited in Harris 1993:1735). The proposition implies only a person who is free (not enslaved) could consider himself or herself to have identity through self-ownership. The premise that Whiteness is built upon exclusion and racial subjugation and the more subjugated non-White others are, then the greater the shaping of White superiority and identity furthering this proposition (Harris 1993:1737).

The final right is the absolute right to exclude and includes all having the “absence of the contaminating influence of Blackness” (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995:60). As such, possessors of Whiteness are considered able to exclude others from White privileges, for example denial of access to resources, from jobs and promotion opportunities.

For BMEs, their presence in UK HEIs is “not just about physical space it is also about the power to occupy a historical space” (Mirza 2006a:141). Drawing on social theorists’ Bourdieu and Foucault, in explaining exclusion from HEI social spaces, Puwar (2004:51) states:

Social spaces are not blank and open for anybody to occupy... certain types of bodies are designated as being the ‘natural’ occupants of specific spaces... some bodies have the right to belong in certain locations, while others are marked out as trespassers who are...conceptually...‘out of place’.

Special permission was necessary to be granted to be present, if not, one was seen as an intruder (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). Consequently,

BMEs are not present in rooms where make or break conversations are being held ECU (2015). If these conversations do not include BMEs then the diversity of the pipeline is unlikely to change and (eighty-five per cent) BME staff continue to leave the academy and the UK seeking better working conditions and respect for Black research (ECU 2015a:9).

In the next section I discuss some of the ways in which BME staff are perceived in the academy

### *White perceptions of BME staff*

BME academics are viewed in stereotypical ways, which devalue, marginalise and exclude them from routes of power (Heward et al 1997; UCU 2012a; Bhopal 2016). This marginalisation creating a cloak of invisibility in UK HEIs (ECU 2009) and creates a “burden of invisibility” borne because they are few in number (Mirza 2008: 127). Subsequently, “the Black woman is created by a White gaze, which perceives her as a mute visible object” (Casey 1993:111, cited in Mirza 2006a:112), which becomes all consuming (Mirza 2006a).

Black academic staff are subjected to a process of infantilisation, whereby they are not just pigeon-holed into being natural race experts but a presumption of competence made, that they are able to speak about race and racism issues (Delgado and Stefancic 2012), but less capable of being in authority (Puwar 2004; Mirza 2006a; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). As a result, there is a continuous battle for recognition of cultural difference in the available space. Being out of place in White institutions incurs both emotional as well as psychological costs to the individual because of that difference and breeds insecurity (Gay 2004; Mirza 2006a; Jones 2006).

Conversely, because Whiteness is property, the Black female is seen as a curiosity or *exotica*, which in itself can constitute an emotional and



professional burden to the Black female in the academy (Mirza 2006b). This tension then creates either multicultural drift (departure of BME staff from the academy) or perpetuates the “sheer weight of Whiteness” which in some HEIs can be almost impenetrable (Back 2004:1; Mirza 2006b).

#### *2.5.6 CRT Tenet: Counter-storytelling and majoritarian (White majority) narratives*

Story-telling is a major part of CRT, helping to emphasise that “race still matters” and pushing back against the dominant narrative (West 1992, cited in Ladson-Billings 1998:8; Rocco et al 2014). Story-telling allows minority ethnic groups to share their stories/experiences. Story-telling is also used to analyse the myths and un-evidenced narratives suppressing Black people by providing understanding, sensitivity and interpretations of their accounts (Ladson-Billings 1998). “Until lions have their historians, tales of the hunt shall always glorify the hunter.” (African proverb, cited in Ladson-Billings 2013:41). This proverb represents the essence of counter-storytelling, casting doubt on the validity of accepted premises, especially ones held by the White majority (Delgado and Stefancic 2001). In asserting their lived experiences, it challenges White majority accounts in which Black people can be depicted in “passive atrophied form as mere policy objects” as they name their own reality (Gilroy 1993, cited in Warmington 2012:7).

The use of voice is central to naming one’s own reality and is a way that CRT links form and substance in Black scholarship (Delgado 1995). The Black voice proves challenging to the oppressor or prevailing group which seeks to justify its power with narratives and standard reasons, constructing reality in ways to maintain their privilege, regarding other experiences as outliers (Rocco et al 2014). In doing so, the oppression seems rational requiring little self-scrutiny by the oppressor and as a

consequence does not appear like oppression to the committer (Delgado 1993, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

However, in sharing stories it opens the possibility of providing minorities with a forum for voice and expression, which provides greater self-insight and understanding. It helps the tellers to make more sense of their own story of experienced oppression and inequities minimising any mental anguish and blame being suffered in silence (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Stories have the capacity to reveal that others have shared similar experiences and importantly can communicate matters to White colleagues that they are unlikely to know. An exchange of stories from teller to listener can thus help overcome ethnocentrism and the dysconscious conviction of viewing the world in one way. In naming their experiences of discrimination, discrimination can be opposed, especially if socially constructed, should also be capable of being deconstructed (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

Social reality is then constructed by the formulation and the exchange of stories about individual situations (Delgado 1993, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). These stories serve as interpretive structures by which order is imposed upon experience and in turn upon the narrator locating the truth for the individual in this moment, situation and time in history (Delgado 1991, 1993, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). In being able to alter the White majority narrative by offering a real and better-informed counter-narrative may prove challenging to White people. However, own narratives could counter the elitist and property expectations of the academy (Harris 1993).

### 2.5.7 CRT Tenet: *Interest convergence*

This tenet proposes that the interests of Black people achieving race equality will only be considered or tolerated when it converges with interests of Whites in exceptional conditions (Bell 1980, cited in Brown and Jackson 2013). Such advances being seen to promote White self-interest (Delgado and Stefancic 2000, cited in Gillborn 2006a). Interest convergence is the place where the interests of Whites and non-Whites intersect (Ladson-Billings 1998). However, what is “true for subordination of minorities is also true for its relief...with little happening out of altruism alone” and interest convergence is seen as beneficial for the institute but not necessarily for BME staff (Delgado and Stefancic 2012:22; ECU 2015a).

In the pursuit of diversity idealism, many of the policies implemented within an educational context for greater justice and inclusion are in fact tools being used in the continued struggle for fairness and equity (Gillborn 2013). Bell (1980, cited in Brown and Jackson 2013:18) concurs, stating that attempts at equality are really no more than “temporary peaks of progress” that are often short-lived and become irrelevant as racial patterns adapt, maintaining White dominance. HEIs use this strategy to portray an image of diversity which does not always reflect the reality (ECU 2015a). Change coincides with the changing conditions and self-interest of Whites (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

By contrast, through the manipulation of interests there is actually evidence of racial divergence created to protect and embolden White supremacy (Guinier 2004, in Gillborn 2013). Interest divergence exists where it is imagined that it is beneficial to continue to marginalise and oppress minority groups leading to divergence instead of convergence of interests (Gillborn 2013). This divergence positions the White majority voices in HEIs to regain their dominance and explain racism’s always changing but always present structure in issues to do with equality and diversity policies and

inequities as well as tokenism, stereotypes, mentor-matching and the manipulation of inter/intra-minority group conflict (Gillborn 2013).

### *Mentor matching*

In considering whose interests are being served in mentor matching, Blake-Beard et al (2011) claim that mentoring could assist minority ethnic students to remain in education, enabling them to have better experiences and more academic success. He furthers that the same-race mentor-protégé pairs will be the most satisfying and will produce the best results (ibid). Ortiz-Walters and Gilson (2005) support this view agreeing that sharing similar ethnic background creates comfort and interpersonal attraction to the protégé. The function of role modelling (a more passive function) furthers this expectation that Black women are the best persons for Black students to emulate (regardless of gender) removing White academics from the role as they are not able to shape behaviours, values and attitudes in the same way (Scandura 1992, cited in Blake-Beard et al 2011).

Exclusions of Whites from mentoring Black students continues to perpetuate a racist view in keeping minorities together and not exposing White others to existing academic challenges, furthering the self-interest of academic managers and the White majority. However, no difference was found in the outcomes of matched or diversified pairs with the expectation and need of the protégé at the time becoming the most critical issue in forging a relationship for success (Smith et al 2000; Blake-Beard et al 2011). Even though there are variances with White students in terms of their differences in race-relations and stereotyped expectations there is the possibility of some shared experiences, which in turn provides common ground in establishing a successful mentor and protégé relationship (Ortiz-Walters and Gilson 2005).

Nevertheless, Black students and Black staff do not always value matched gender or minority ethnic role modelling or mentoring (Maylor 2009). There are advantages in Black students being mentored by White staff and equally Black staff mentoring White staff and students. Research suggests that the choice of mentor will depend on perceptions of mentor power and ability to support the mentee. The more the mentor has access to power networks, the greater the rewards for the protégé (Sosik and Godshalk 2005, cited in Blake-Beard et al 2011). As such, a White mentor is often considered as being better able to further the protégé's career (Ortiz-Walters and Gilson 2005) which presents challenges for Black academics who are often not party to such power networks.

### *2.5.8 CRT Tenet: Critique of liberalism*

Critical race scholars have little confidence with liberalism as a framework for addressing inequities and racial problems (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). They provide a voice of opposition to the traditional view of policy as one that progresses thinking towards “greater justice and inclusion” (Gillborn 2013:130). A critique of liberalism is one where the real winners tend to be Whites (Ladson-Billings 1998). This critique therefore raises a challenge to the neo-liberalist traditional claims of for example, legal neutrality, objectivity, colour-blindness and meritocracy as camouflages for the self-interest of dominant groups in society (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

Equality and diversity policies and initiatives in HEIs are formulated around a White male agenda and have increased participation rate of Black females only marginally, many HEIs remain overwhelmingly White (Mirza 1999; Jones 2006; UCU 2012a; HESA 2016a). Consequently, the framework for equality and diversity management in HEIs, still renders Black women as invisible in official strategies to combat racial

discrimination and gender inequality and thus they are increasingly more vulnerable to further discrimination (Patel 2001; ECU 2009; Bhopal 2016). Research by ECU (2015:22) revealed: “there was a lack of acknowledgement of these experiences by senior levels in the Institutions” implying that in having equality and diversity policies their real intention is to ensure that racial inequalities are maintained at a manageable level in their HEIs (Warmington 2012).

This fallacy of relevant policies is seen as a critique of the established norm where HEIs claim to have fair policies and processes for diversity and equality opportunities in many areas yet change it seems only coincides with the changing conditions and self-interest of Whites (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Equality and diversity strategies appear to be short term, with a beginning but never an end (ibid). However, the increasing desire for difference and diversity may allow Black women to become “hot” property in terms of research projects and teaching once they stay in their place as “natives in the academy” (Puwar 2004:53).

There is a central irony that exists within universities: they are social institutions, where the traditional view is to celebrate differentiation of forms of thought (Morley and Walsh 1996). However, this difference really only resides within the dominant patriarchal paradigms, with the result of race, gender, and other forms of inequalities being at opposing ends hardly representing a celebration of differentiated forms of thought (ibid). Although universities are in the business of promoting understanding, critical reflection and reflexive social enquiry, they often lack an understanding and critique of itself resulting in insularity, which does not promote any change initiatives happening (Barnett 1993).

### *Fairness and equity in the academy*

Issues relating to fairness and equity were discussed earlier (in Section 2.4.3) however, it is relevant to reinforce some of previously stated areas in relation to CRT. The daily realities of life in the academy contradict university ideals. Given HEIs' boasts of equality charter marks and their neo-liberal approaches, the opportunities espoused under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) and the Equality Act 2010, should allow the competence and capabilities of Black women to be exercised in a feeling of fairness. However, HEIs act in ways that knowingly or unknowingly encourage and promote oppression or domination within their own operations (Chesler et al 2005; Marini and Reale 2015) and as determined under the CRT property tenet, freedom is curtailed, therefore feelings of inequality surface. Rampant neoliberalism and dog-whistle racism therefore assist in complicating challenges made to White supremacy (Ledesma and Calderón 2015).

Culture in HEIs remains resistant to change and often, high profile and institution wide neo-liberal diversity plans are quickly forgotten as the drive for efficiencies become more important (Collins 2004; Williams 2006). HEIs are able to remove themselves from the broader culture of society thus avoiding dealing with issues of their mono-cultural identity (Conklin and Robbins-McNeish 2006). This does not reflect the neo-liberalism they claim to espouse and further perpetuates homogeneity as its intended agenda under a notion of empathic fallacy that paper policies mean change.

The question is therefore raised as to why HEIs persist with race-neutral arguments (Alfred and Chlup 2010). Responses to this question reveal that the White majority and defining groups for these arguments are detached from race. Thus, the experiences generated and generalised upon are based on the groups' own experiences and later applied to all

minority groups, with Whiteness being the base-line comparator (Alfred and Chlup 2010). Nonetheless, CRT rejects the liberal approach, as not all individuals have the same opportunities and experiences, and encounters with race are experienced differently (Alfred and Chlup 2010).

Given HEIs' obsession with appearance and publicity they are good at crafting inclusive mission statements and action plans for diversity in the knowledge that achieving such ends are difficult if not impossible (Ledesma and Calderón 2015; *THE University Workplace* survey 2016). However, although the mission statement may speak to and about diversity, in practice it is rarely discussed or reviewed (Conklin and Robbins-McNeish 2006). Such action plans therefore work to reinforce Black people as outsiders and there is evidence that the playing field has not been levelled (Williams 2006; Bhopal 2016).

As a result, equality issues still dominate discussions in HEIs. Little progress has been made and respondents to *THE University Workplace* survey (2015) feel that equality and diversity issues are not well-handled and BME staff subject to oppressions and poor treatment. Further comments from this survey were made about equality outcomes not being available and action not evident as the policies provided protection at the level of text for protected characteristics but infrequently factored into strategic action for change (Ibid). Consequently, some universities could do more to meet their legal obligations and a large number of institutions were working positively (ECU 2009; UCU 2016). Nevertheless, in advancing equality and diversity the effects of racism are rarely used in organisations to examine diversity (Bernier and Rocco 2003, cited in Alfred and Chlup 2010:338). Questions are therefore raised over the effectiveness of equality and diversity policies as HEIs' use of their carefully crafted documents is not an indication that racism is actually being addressed or eliminated (Ahmed 2007).



The legislation around equal opportunities over the last two decades has revolved around gender equity with minimal mention made of race equity (Jones 2006; ECU 2009; Bhopal and Jackson 2013; Bhopal 2016). The focus on diversity differences is not as innocent as it seems and it hides the nature of racism:

The Black subject and Black experience are constructed historically, culturally, politically...the grounding of ethnicity in difference is deployed in the discourse on racism, as a means of disavowing the realities of racism and repression. (Hall 1992:257, cited in Mirza 2006a:106)

Diversity appears to be about good public relations rather than the invisible contradictions Black women counter simply by their presence (Mirza 1999). The effect of poorly executed discriminatory policies upon Black women has not been analysed and has gone unheeded contributing to their exodus from the academy (ECU 2015a). Racism and colour-blindness needs sweeping change to be more colour conscious and insistent of subjectivity. However, neo-liberalism seemingly has no mechanism to revolutionise change and is instead dependent upon incremental steps and the continued reformulation of legislation to reflect the perspectives of those who have experienced and been victimised by racism first hand (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

According to hooks (1994, cited in Rocco et al 2014), it becomes necessary to use the “master’s tools...in deconstructing the master’s house”. With HEIs taking an incremental approach to only short term change there is no further movement forward. In wanting to change something as embedded as racism and bring about serious change in the academy, then everything needs to be changed at the same time (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Actual change dependent on deep-seated institutional and cultural changes and changes in male dominance

otherwise the “system continues to swallow up the small improvements made”, and things revert to how they previously were (Anderson 2003; Delgado and Stefancic 2012:64).

#### *2.5.9 CRT Tenet: Intersectionality*

The term intersectionality was introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, when she discussed issues of Black women’s employment in the USA. Intersectionality was introduced as a heuristic term grounded in Black feminism and arising out of early years of critical legal studies. Intersectionality broadly means the examination of race, sex, class, national origin and sexual orientation and how their combination plays out in various settings (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Therefore, allowing an inward critique of identity at the intersections between for example, gender, race and class (ibid).

Intersectionality was a term used primarily to focus attention on the dynamics of similarity and difference in the context of anti-discrimination and social movement politics (Cho et al 2013). However, it is now appearing widely in a range of disciplines as a framework that captures more completely and accurately the complexities of everyday life and identity by linking individual, interpersonal and social structural domains of experience (Shields 2008; Dill and Zambrana 2009).

The failure of White feminism to interrogate race means that the resistance strategies of feminism will replicate and reinforce the subordination of Black people and the failure of anti-racism to interrogate patriarchy means that antiracism will frequently reproduce the subordination of women (Crenshaw 1991). Subsequently, neither of these discourses allows for further exploration of the intersections of race and gender nor is it determined whether each factor of discrimination should be considered

separately or additively (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). In making the argument that gender identities have been obscured in antiracist discourses, just as race identities have been obscured in feminist discourses implies that identity in itself becomes a challenging discourse.

The assumption that all women are White and all Black people are men (hooks 1981) was simply the starting point of an analytical and political move by Black people, other feminists and social scientists to begin the deconstruction of the categories of both women and Black people. This deconstruction was necessary to develop an analysis of the intersectionality of various social divisions, in many cases focussing on race, gender and class (Yuval-Davis 2006).

Class and gender-based explanations for example are not powerful enough to explain all the differences being experienced and importantly which factors were actually causal as both can and do intersect race (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). In considering race and gender as two distinct areas intersectionality brings these areas much closer together and argues that there are challenges inherent in looking at just one area without considering how others will impact to produce varied experiences (Crenshaw 1991).

Race and racism has more gravitas than sex(ism) because of its consequences (Bryan et al 1985). A person's non-white colour is more readily seen and noticed than their gender. This double jeopardy of being Black and female means facing discrimination on two fronts simultaneously. A double bind therefore exists, disadvantaged because of race as well as gender in not achieving benefits that might be given to White women or men (Morley and Walsh 1996; Mirza 1999; Conklin and Robbins-McNeish 2006).

Intersectionality accepts that it is too simple to ponder racial discrimination without consideration being made of other relevant characteristics such as

gender or class as important in shaping racial experiences and identity (Crenshaw 2001). Subsequently, it has been described as a convergent point where open-ended investigations of the overlapping and conflicting dynamics of race, gender, class, sexuality, and other inequalities gather together (Lykke 2011). As a result, providing the means for dealing with other marginalisations, for example, race can be a coalition of heterosexual and homosexual Black people and thus serve as a basis for a critique of churches and other cultural institutions that reproduce heterosexism (Lykke 2011). Since definitions and debates about gender and race are never likely to end, both need to co-exist in some kind of judicious harmonisation (Crenshaw 2011; Cho 2013).

### *Essentialism and identity politics*

Delgado and Stefancic (2012) raise the question as to whether all oppressed people have something in common. This question is key in the essentialism/anti-essentialism debate which goes contra to the intersectionality debate as it aims to stereotype and may lead to misunderstandings (Ladson-Billings 2013). On the one hand, they are all Black people, which is something in common but what they strive for and their socialisation are likely to vary from group to group and person to person. In expecting volume or a collection of voices to be heard and make a difference, questions are raised about the status of that lone voice or voices that do not fit into established or single categories of oppression and how they are then heard (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

Such “double-consciousness” results in a sense of a divided-self, being a woman but also being Black, having “two-souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings” (Du Bois 1903, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995:50). However, this double-consciousness opens up opportunities for second insight and a need to be aware of how divisions might occur.

Essentialism is thus about trimming something down to the heart of the matter until it stands alone (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

Importantly, anti-racism discourse essentialises Blackness and feminism discourse essentialises womanhood, furthering the interests of Black people and women, with one analysis implicitly denying the validity of the other (Gillborn 2013). The problem is not simply linguistic or philosophical in nature, but perceived as explicitly political: the narratives of gender are based on the experience of White, middle-class women and the narratives of race are based on the experience of Black men (Gillborn 2013; Ladson-Billings 2013).

An understanding of intersectionality is salient in comprehending essentialism and identity politics. Intersectionality reveals how power is manifested in subtle and covert ways as identity is re-created in response, sometimes via the formation and deployment of over-lapping identity categories (Cho et al 2013). A focus on the intersections of race, class and gender highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed (Crenshaw 1991). Identity thus continues to be an area of resistance for members of different subordinated groups (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

Intersectionality alleges emphasis on categories of identity versus structures of inequality with identities construed as “authentic instruments of inequality and are static and hard to move”, (MacKinnon 2013:1023). There is an absence of intersectionality in Whiteness studies but Whites by contrast are not seen as an oppressed group and/or this absence an issue of power over identity or vice-versa.

Intersectionality is therefore a matter of identity rather than power in that oppressed people cannot see which identity categories make a difference (Tomlinson 2013:12). However, identity categories such as race and gender can be seen as negative frameworks designed to marginalise

those who are different by defining them as such (Crenshaw 1991). Nevertheless, intersectionality is inextricably linked to an analysis of power and it is in revealing how power works in “diffuse and differentiated ways” that can enable understanding as to which identity differences carry significance (Cho et al 2013:797).

Social powers (such as students, peers, managers) may work to exclude minority groups, creating another stream of arguments for identity politics that “conflates or ignores intra-group differences” rather than transcending differences (Crenshaw 1991:1242). Dimensions, such as race, class and sexuality create the identities of women. However, when practices expound identity as a woman or Black person as an either/or proposition they relegate the identity of Black women to a location that resists telling (Crenshaw 1991).

A Black person is...constructed and intermeshed in other social divisions (for example gender, social class, disability status, sexuality, age, nationality, immigration, status, geography etc.)...to essentialise ‘Blackness’ or ‘womanhood’...as specific forms...in additive ways inevitably conflates narratives of identity politics... such narratives render invisible experiences of the more marginal members of that specific social category and construct an homogenized ‘right way’ to be its member. (Yuval-Davis 2006:195)

The tendency to split political energies between two, sometimes opposing identity groups is a dimension of intersectional disempowerment that Black men and White women seldom confront (Cho et al 2013). The construction of the group identity may in fact be centred on the intersectional identities of a few, suggesting that intersectionality is presumed upon a duality of areas and is problematic to only those faced issues (Carbado 2013). Intersectionality however may be more useful as a means of mediating the

tension between assertions of multiple identities and the on-going necessity of group politics (Carbado 2013).

Within an essentialist identity politics framework it may also be useful to explore the notion of colour-blind intersectionality as discussed briefly next.

### *Colour-blind intersectionality*

Colour-blind intersectionality frames Whiteness outside intersectionality therefore legitimising the racial presence, difference and peculiarity of White people to travel invisibly and undisturbed as a race-neutral phenomena above and against the racial presence, difference and particularity of Black people (Carbado 2013). Thus, a White woman can just be a White woman and White men can be White men. Colour-blind intersectionality invites attention to the privileged intersectionalities who underwrite many of the divisions and agendas for greater equality (Carbado 2013).

## **2.6 Section Summary**

The HEIs' role and approach to race and racism in the academy has been explored using a critical race framework for deeper understanding of the racial issues currently present. Exploring the issues in a layered way has provided more insight to understanding the debates about the complexities of race as well as the development of CRT as a field in the USA and its relevance to examining and understanding Black women's experiences of new managerialism in the UK. Racism is embedded within the academy and furthered for example, using property rights for exclusion and dog-whistle tactics to conceal real intent. Emphatic fallacies have allowed the White majority to continue to promise neo-liberal changes that are short-lived and unsupported. In examining the dynamics of difference and sameness has facilitated greater consideration of race and other

intersectional factors shaping identity raising questions as to whether the focus ought to be on single issues or issues seen additively. Failing to consider intersectional dynamics may explain the high levels of denial of opportunity and frustration experienced by Black women.

## **2.7 Chapter Conclusion and Study Framework**

In reviewing the literature, I have found evidence that academics are being managed in more efficient ways thus eroding their sense of professionalism. Through varied and subtle use of managers and students and their devolved powers, academics have been made more accountable. As a result, restrictions have been made to their academic freedoms, autonomy and voice. However, there is limited evidence of how new managerialism has really impacted their roles, their sense of self and their well-being, as many studies have focused on senior managers or HEI staff in general. Whilst new managerialism changes have been well documented, from my review of the literature it appears that there has been no empirical study focused on exploring how these changes have affected Black female academics and therefore represents a gap in the literature.

Critical race theory, while a US perspective, is necessary to really understand what is happening inside higher education as 'in-here' is being transformed in the same way as 'out-there' (Robertson 2010:192). Using a critical race theory approach has provided an insight into how power and politics are being used in the academy to further divergence and locating Black women within the transformations and struggles taking place (Robertson 2010). Central to my study therefore, is my engagement with the CRT tenets and in identifying what has made the significant difference to my participants' experiences.



Table 2.2 (illustrated on page 121), constitutes my framework for analysing the experiences of these Black women and will be used to inform and guide my findings, analysis and discussion in chapter four. As a result of my review of the literature, I have included additional authors informing the discourse and have also added a fourth column to the earlier table (Table 2.1) to illustrate the applicability of CRT to my study. Using a CRT framework will afford the data greater meaning and I, with a deeper understanding of how to make sense of Black women's experiences of new managerialism.

In exploring their experiences, I sought to uncover whether these women gave the same weight to their gender as they do to their race or they considered their gender significant, but found that "race matters" and "Blackness matters in more detailed ways" (West 1993; Smith 1993, both cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995:52).

In this chapter, I have explored and critically discussed key aspects of new managerialism as well as race and racism in the academy. The next chapter considers the relevant methods to be used in gathering primary data for this study.

**Table 2.2: Critical race theory tenets, UK interpretation**

	<b>CRT tenet</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Key sources</b>	<b>My interpretation and exploration</b>
1	Permanence of racism	Racism, both conscious and unconscious is a permanent component of American life; society allocates status and privilege by race.	Bell 1992; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Tate 1997; Ladson-Billings 1998; Mirza 2008; Arya 2012; Palmer Cook 2012; Brown and Jackson 2013; Bhopal 2014; Haney López 2014; Capper 2015	Racism is endemic and a component of English HEIs; common experience for Black women; difficult to address because often unacknowledged.
2	Whiteness as property	Because of the history of race and racism in the US and the role US jurisprudence has played in reifying conceptions of race, the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest.	Harris 1995; Ladson-Billings 1998; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Mirza 2006a; Mirza 2006b; 2009; Bhopal 2016.	The UK's approach to race equality over the last thirty years and the emergence of Institutionalised racism as a valid concern; White over colour ascendancy is evident; I believe that the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest in the academy.
3	Counter story-telling and majoritarian narratives	A method of telling a story that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths especially ones held by the majority;	Matsuda 1995; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Tate 1997; Delgado 1995; Ladson-Billings 1998, 2013; Sólorzano and Yosso 2001; Rocco et al 2014;	Competence to tell stories likely to be unknown to White counterparts; Telling stories that aim to cast doubts on the validity of majoritarian accepted premises or myths;
4	Interest convergence	Significant progress for Black people is achieved only when the goals of Black people are consistent with the needs of Whites	Bell 1980, 2004; Ladson-Billings 1998; Maylor 2009; Blake-Beard et al 2011; Gillborn 2013;	Little incentive to eradicate racism
5	Critique of liberalism	Critiques of basic notions embraced by liberal ideology to include colour-blindness, meritocracy and neutrality of the law	Crenshaw 1988; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Tate 1997; Ladson-Billings 1998; Alfred and Chlup 2010; Gillborn 2013; Warmington 2012; Ledesema and Calderón 2015; Bhopal 2016	An insistence on equal treatment across the board; Critique of basic notions embraced by New Managerialism to include colour-blindness, race-neutrality and meritocracy in the academy
6	Intersectionality	Considers race across races and the intersection of race with other identities and differences.	Crenshaw 1991, 2011; Yuval-Davis 2006; Lykke 2011; Cho et al 2013; Gillborn 2013	Identity is not unitary or based on singular factors; Considers the intersection of race with other identities and differences.

Note: Adapted from Horsford (2010) and Capper (2015)

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

This chapter explains the methodological stance of the study. In order to explore and understand the experiences of African and Caribbean academic females I have adopted an interpretivist paradigm to investigate, re-construct and explain their realities (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Having explored the literature around new managerialism in HEIs in Chapter Two, it is evident that the experiences of African and Caribbean female academics remain an under-researched area. Greater focus has been placed on the experiences of senior managers or academics/non-academics in general. There is however some evidence of increasing research into Black and minority ethnic staff (BME) in HEIs as a whole (ECU 2009; Bhopal and Jackson 2013; Bhopal 2014; Runnymede Perspectives 2015; Bhopal 2016). Nevertheless, the literature and research around African and Caribbean females as a specific group remains limited.

The data from studies of new managerialism in the academy has been both quantitative and qualitative (see for example Clegg 2008; Kolsaker 2008; Whitchurch 2012). Research has often focused on the benefits and problems inherent in new managerialism but not necessarily on understanding the lived experiences of front-line academics. This study has therefore focused on making sense of the experiences of African or Caribbean female academics. As a reminder, the study intended to address the following questions:

- How has new managerialism been experienced by Black female academics in English post-1992 HEIs?
- How has new managerialism influenced the way in which Black women view themselves as professionals in the academy?

This chapter initially outlines my research strategy and the research methods used to capture information on the experiences of Black female academics. This is followed by a section examining my reflexivity throughout the process. Lastly, I have evaluated the trustworthiness of my findings and the limitations of my research approach.

### **3.1 Overview of the Research Strategy**

In undertaking this study, I have opened up a discourse for me to explore, interpret and make sense of the experiences and truths of these individuals in the academy. As a result I have acquired a better understanding of the meanings and significance given to their individual experiences, providing me with a strong form of constructionism in the process (Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Easterby-Smith et al 2012).

#### *3.1.1 Research paradigms and choices*

I have identified race and gender as an integral part of the criteria for participation in this study. Consequently the experiences I have captured for each participant is made minimally variable by virtue of race and gender as well as by situation and location (Easterby-Smith et al 2012), thus no single reality can be determined. Having rejected realism (no single truth or definitive answer exists to their experiences) my ontological position has become one that has been socially constructed, accepting through discourse and questions the participants' many truths as they

shared their experiences and self-created facts of their social worlds (Cohen et al 2009; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). My ontological focus has thus emphasised exploring their individual realities and has produced knowledge reflective of these realities (Guba 1996; Denzin and Lincoln 2011).

Consequently, my epistemological stance was both subjective and complex as new narratives with transformational potential were opened up through my engagement, reflexivity and sense-making which provided new insights into their experiences (Richardson 1990; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). I have used a qualitative, interpretivist and critical approach to understand and explain the meanings of Black women's experiences (Anderson 2009; Easterby-Smith et al 2012).

### *3.1.2 Qualitative approach*

Creating conversations rich with meaning and collecting and interpreting experiences to find relevant sense in making the world more visible is how qualitative research is conducted (Miles and Huberman 2013; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). My study has a primary focus on how social experience is created and given meaning within a constantly shifting social reality as opposed to seeking measurements in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency (Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Erickson 2011) which is the essence of quantitative studies. A qualitative approach was therefore relevant to make visible Black women's experiences of new managerialism in post-1992 HEIs and to interpret the meanings attached to the data (Bryman and Bell 2007; Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Erickson 2011).

## **3.2 Study Design**

### *3.2.1 Selecting the participants*

In order to answer my research questions I had to identify participants who fit a certain criteria. Firstly, all the participants had to be African or Caribbean female academics. It was not important whether they were born in the UK or not, simply that they shared this heritage. Secondly, I required academics who had experienced new managerialism changes. This meant that they would have had to be in their roles in an English post-1992 HEI for at least seven years to have noticed and experienced these changes. Thirdly, it was important that the participants be academics on permanent open-ended contracts (not visiting lecturers or hourly paid lecturers) so they were fully immersed in daily life in the academy.

#### *Snow-ball sampling*

In not knowing where to find and reach all my potential participants, I used a snow-ball sampling method to identify and access potential participants. This method was an appropriate way for me to acquire additional participants identified with the relevant characteristics quickly (Cohen et al 2009). I started the process by contacting a colleague who was an African female academic in another HEI. She became the first participant and provided me with the names of three others whom I contacted to interview. According to Cohen et al (2009), establishing first contact through introductions becomes critical in snow-balling as it helps to remove unfamiliarity which could impede effective interviewing. Two responded positively to participating and one did not respond after several e-mails and attempts made to telephone her at work. I located three participants from within my own HEI and made e-mail contact. All three agreed to participate in my study and later suggested other participants with similar characteristics for consideration and inclusion in this study. These six initial participants constituted my pilot phase (discussed below).

I had initial concerns about numbers to be interviewed fearing that my sample would be too small. During the pilot stage, I had no idea how many interviews I would undertake and how many would matter. I went back to the literature and noted that even though the numbers varied in the studies they still satisfied the aims of the studies. For example: Bhopal (2016) interviewed thirty-five BME academics in UK HEIs; Whitchurch (2009; 2012) interviewed twenty-nine participants in three UK HEIs; Kolsaker (2008) conducted twelve interviews in six English universities and Clegg (2008) explored the views of thirteen academics from one institution. I decided to simply continue to interview participants until I felt there was sufficient information from which I could derive conclusions and satisfy my study objectives (Charmaz 2006), the quality of the data being the actual determinant of its value (Guest et al 2006). In total, seventeen participants were included in this study which was sufficient for in-depth interviews in a qualitative study of this size (Baker and Edwards 2012) and given the small numbers of academics satisfying my criteria (HESA 2014)<sup>26</sup>.

### *Arranging the interviews*

I made sure that initial e-mail contact with the potential participants was later followed up with a telephone call to discuss my research and confirm the interview date and time. Where the participants were unknown to me, I requested a mobile telephone number should I be delayed on the day of the interview. The interviews all took place at the participants' respective universities as it was convenient for them. Having the meetings in their preferred setting enabled them to speak more openly (Creswell 2009). I confirmed my visit the day before via e-mail or text message and arrived at least thirty minutes early at the agreed locations.

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<sup>26</sup> I made a data enquiry to HESA (Higher Education Statistics Agency) in July 2014 which revealed that in the sixty-three post-1992 English HEIs, there were on average 4.6 African or Caribbean female permanent academics with more than seven years length of service in the academy per post-1992 HEI.

*Phase one participant profiles*

My pilot phase of interviews took place from November 2012 to October 2013. All the participants in this phase were located in HEIs in the east and south east of England. Of the six participants interviewed in this phase, three were born in the UK and the other three had been resident in the UK for between fifteen to forty years. Five of the participants had completed more than ten years in the academy and three had obtained PhDs. The six participants are detailed below in Table 3.1 and identified with the codes R1 for participant 1, R2 for participant 2 and so on. Their HEIs have been anonymised and are briefly illustrated in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.1: Participants' profiles, phase one**

Participant	Ethnic origin	Years in HE*	Role	Department	Highest qualification achieved	Teaching qualification
R1	Nigerian	10	SL	Business	PhD	PGCE; HEA
R2	Ghanaian	11	SL	Business	MSc	PGCE; HEA
R3	Cameroonian	17	SL	Business	PhD	None
R4	Jamaican	9	SL	Education	MBA; MA	PGCE; HEA
R5	Dominican	11	SL	Economics	MSc	PGCE
R6	Jamaican	10	SL	Economics	PhD	PGCE; HEA

\* taken at the time of interview

**Table 3.2: Participating universities, phase one**

Location	Description	Participants (six)
University A	Town based, campus university with approximately 13,995 students	R2, R3, R4,
University B	City based university with approximately 14,945 students	R1, R5,
University C	Town based, campus university with approximately 9,700 students	R6

Student numbers taken from HESA Report 2015



### *3.2.2 Approach to interviews*

At the start of the interview meetings I again provided an overview of the nature of my research as well as how the interviews would be used in this study. I assured the participants that their data would be secure especially as I was using an audio digital recorder. Each participant signed a consent form and they were advised that they could withdraw from the interview at any time. Each interview lasted between sixty to ninety minutes.

#### *Interview questions*

The first twelve questions I asked were closed questions and captured contextual and biographical information from the participants such as, length of service, job role, qualifications and so on. This was undertaken so I could establish participant profiles and to create an early and comfortable rapport with them.

I developed the main interview questions from my research themes of new managerialism, race and gender. These were open questions, which allowed the participants to speak freely, developing deeper responses about their experiences. For example, I asked questions about the nature of the changes they were experiencing under new managerialism and how the changes had affected their sense of professionalism.

My initial list contained seventeen questions with five more added later to explore issues of race and gender specifically. I used prompts as an aid through some of the questions (see Appendix A).

Prior to commencing each interview, I asked the participants if they knew what the term new managerialism meant. This was important as the discussion was based around this concept. In the instances where they did not know what it meant, I provided a definition of the term. Simply stating, that it was a term used to represent the changes introduced into public sector organisations to improve their cost efficiencies, accountabilities,

measure and track performance through league tables and customer satisfaction (Lorenz 2012; Alvesson and Spicer 2016). Examples of these areas were also provided.

#### *Interview structure and approach to questioning*

I employed a semi-structured approach to interviewing but kept irrelevant discussion to a minimum. This way I was able to probe the participant further in areas that had not been well or fully explained as well as provided the participant with an opportunity to introduce other relevant areas of experience. There were one or two questions that were not readily understood and I had to re-phrase them for a few of the participants. For example, question sixteen asked about the pressures in the participants' working environment. A few of the participants did not understand what I meant by 'pressures'. I re-phrased the question to explain what I meant. In exploring professionalism I had to define this term to a few of the participants who were uncertain what I meant. Simply explaining that professionalism was about their attitudes and behaviour towards their academic role and work and the characteristics expected from belonging to professional bodies or to the academy (Cheetham and Chivers 2005; Evans 2008). Once clarified, they were able to provide relevant responses.

My approach to interviewing was to make it conversational. However, in doing so, I initially positioned myself unwittingly as an equal contributor to the discussion. I believed that I needed to share some of my own experiences equally with the participants as a friend showing empathy and building rapport. Brinkmann and Kvale (2014:6) posit however, that the interview is not a discourse between equal partners because "the researcher defines and controls the situation", introducing the topic and critically following up on the responses made to the questions.

Nevertheless, my control of the interview was limited as the participants were free to leave at any time. According to Sennett (2004, cited in Brinkmann and Kvale 2014:20), an in-depth interview can create a number of tensions within itself:

In-depth interviewing is a distinctive, often frustrating craft... the... interviewer wants to probe the responses people give... the interviewer cannot be stonily impersonal ... has to give something of himself or herself ... to merit an open response ... the point is not to talk the way friends do.

It became clear to me after the third interview in phase one and reading through the first three transcripts generated, that my approach was not as semi-structured as I had initially thought. I had asked too many questions. In listening to the recorded interviews it appeared that, I had a greater keenness to complete my list of questions than to follow-up on significant information. Therefore, I made a number of fundamental interviewer errors. For example, I shared my views, which may have influenced the participants' responses. I failed to listen actively enough and thus did not always follow-up on important pronouncements made. I asked a number of leading questions, inviting a particular direction of response, which could have influenced their answers. Participants in these instances would simply agree or not with my questions.

Interviewers are warned against asking leading questions or in saying too much or too little (Buetow 2013). There were interruptions made on my part too, as I tried to establish my understanding of some of the answers given. In doing so, I would terminate the participant's response mid-stream. However, interruptions are sometimes necessary to guide the interviewee back to the key questions or to confirm what question is being answered (Easterby-Smith et al 2012; Brinkmann and Kvale 2014).

Listening and refraining from projecting my own opinions or feelings was more challenging than it sounded especially since one of the ways of developing rapport and establishing trust with the participant was to be empathetic (Easterby-Smith et al 2012). Nevertheless, the interviewer needs to “listen without helping”, paying attention instead to: changes in body language, for example loss of eye contact; changed facial expressions; boredom or even nervousness in providing clues as well as summarising what has been said to check understanding (Mayo 1949, cited in Easterby-Smith et al 2012:129; Brinkmann and Kvale 2014). As a result of reflecting upon and reviewing the first three interviews, I made changes to my interview approach for the rest of this phase. I listened more, maintained necessary periods of silence and paid greater attention to the participants’ physical cues.

### *3.2.3 Summarising and theorising phase one data*

At the end of the six interviews, I questioned whether I was really getting the information necessary to provide answers to my research questions. I felt I was not obtaining the depths of discussion and narratives expected. I was experiencing interviewer doubts (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014). I read all six interview transcripts again and had further meetings with my supervisors. I produced the transcripts for R2 and R5 to discuss with my supervisory team to determine if my doubts were founded or not. They both agreed that rich data had been obtained; however, I had not been critical or analytical enough in exploring the data. Even though new managerialism and professionalism had been discussed it was increasingly apparent that issues to do with racial discrimination were surfacing more than I had expected.

I sought out a key informant for subject specific guidance into the research as a point of reference. This key informant was a professor with a research focus on race in education. She explored my research with me and provided direction to critical areas in race research such as Black feminist studies, critical race theory, intersectionality and critical gender theory. I was reading about theories of race and gender subjectively but not critically as a social construct. I realised at this point that my framework for exploration had not been firmly enough established for my research to progress further.

I took a break from interviewing to reflect upon my data and the interview process for phase one (reflections are captured in section 3.5). I used this time to re-examine the literature especially in the area of critical race theories and intersectionality.

### *3.2.4 Phase two*

The second phase of interviews began in the summer of 2014. Some of the phase one participants, my supervisory team and a work colleague provided additional names for the second phase of interviews. I contacted these leads via e-mail and by phone. I had some success with some of the leads agreeing to participate. Some of the others were no longer in their HEIs. A few of the phase two participants provided additional contacts.

#### *Phase two participant profiles*

Eleven further participants were interviewed in this second phase as detailed below in Table 3.3 and identified with the codes R7- R17. Six participants were positioned within London universities. Four of the participants were born outside the UK. The years of experience for this group ranged between seven to twenty-three years with all but two spending more than thirteen years in the academy. Six participants had

achieved PhDs with R13 and R14 in the process of completing a PhD. Only two of the participants (R8 and R16) did not desire an additional higher qualification at this time. All participants except R16 had a teaching qualification. This participant had trained as a barrister and believed that her knowledge of the Law as well as her industry experience was sufficient to maintain her academic position.

**Table 3.3: Participants' profiles, phase two**

Participant	Ethnic origin	Years in HE*	Role	Department	Highest qualification achieved	Teaching qualification
R7	Nigerian	13	SL	Business	PhD	PGCE
R8	Nigerian	16	SL	Business	MA	PGCE; HEA
R9	Nigerian	15	SL	Business	PhD	PGCE; HEA
R10	Jamaican	16	SL	Business	PhD	PGCE; HEA
R11	Kenyan	19	PL	Health	PhD	PGCE
R12	Jamaican	22	SL	Health	PhD	PG Diploma; HEA
R13	Zimbabwean	10	SL	Health	MSc	PGCE; HEA
R14	Jamaican	17	SL	Health	MSc	pending
R15	St Lucian	15	PL	Business	PhD	HEA
R16	Nigerian	23	SL	Law	LLM	None
R17	Jamaican	7	L	Health	MSc	pending

\*Taken at the time of interview

**Table 3.4: Participating universities, phase two**

	Description	Participants (11)
University A	Town based, campus university with approximately 13,995 students	R10,R11, R12, R13, R14, R17
University B	City based university with approximately 14,945 students	R9
University D	City based university with approximately 13,360 students	R7, R8
University E	City based university with approximately 12,960 students	R15, R16

Student numbers taken from HESA Report 2015

### *Summary of phase two interviews*

Based on my experiences in the first phase I maintained my sample type which was appropriate for this study but altered my approach to questioning to ensure I was hearing their experiences. I used fewer questions. I was still conversational but less so and more probing. I was more aware of when I attempted to ask leading questions and eliminated this practice. I remained silent for longer and became less interruptive. I exercised greater care in following up relevant themes as they emerged. Therefore, the data gathered from this second phase was even richer. Where issues of racial discrimination emerged five of these participants became quite emotional or upset in re-counting their experiences (discussed further under ethical issues in 3.4). I maintained several periods of silence as their experiences unfolded asking intermittently whether they wanted to stop. All insisted in carrying on as they wanted their voices to be heard.

## **3.3 Transcription and Data Analysis**

### *3.3.1 Transcribing the interviews*

I initially started the job of transcription myself but after two hours, had only progressed fifteen minutes into the interview recording. According to Dunleavy (2003), the transcription of tapes will require at least six hours in the beginning for every one hour of recorded interview. I hired a typist who was able to undertake this task more quickly. Recordings were sent to the typist within twenty-four hours and completed transcripts returned within a week. The typist was advised to capture the spoken word verbatim, omitting pauses and other inferences. I checked the transcripts against the recordings for accuracy, and anonymised all identifiable names. The transcripts were sent to the respective participants for confirmation of accuracy, correctness, truth and for further comment. Five of the

participants acknowledged receipt of the transcripts but made no further comments. Others did not respond.

Upon re-reading the typed transcripts although accurate, I recognised that certain statements could be misunderstood because pauses, changes in tone, expressions and so on had not been captured. I became aware that what I was reading was simply recorded words but not always how it was said. I listened to each recording again to note inferences such as tone, pauses and speed and other nuances that were absent from the initial write-up.

I captured and noted on each transcript where pauses were positioned, where laughter was detected, where the participant became emotional, quiet and so on. I reflected upon the location and time of day for each of the interviews, as I believed this had an impact upon some of the responses being given. For example, R2 and R8 worried about being heard through their office walls; R15's interview was after five pm and she worried about missing her train connections; R5 had to cross a picket line of academic staff going into her workplace. R5 had organised a test for her students scheduled for that day and felt it was easier to give the expected test to students than to try and re-arrange for another day, disappointing students as a result. However, R5 explained that being present at work ran counter to her beliefs about positively supporting collective industrial strike action and consequently, was uncomfortable, apprehensive and even defensive at times, throughout the interview.

Being aware of their environmental influences in this way had allowed me to understand their voice, tone and reality in a deeper way and provided another level of richness to the data. For example, R5's body language was cautious and her responses were short which could be as a result of her not wanting to be present in an environment where her colleagues were picketing outside the building. R15 gave rushed responses as she



needed to make her train connection. R8 kept checking the corridors and the rooms next door to her office for listening colleagues. Subsequently, their experiences shared were more limited in discourse and depth than the others.

### 3.3.2 *Data analysis*

#### *Reading and organising the data*

My data was analysed initially through a process of in-depth reading and re-reading each transcript. However, to synthesise the excerpts from the transcripts into meaningful data I had to organise the information in a way that would make better sense. Coding was an appropriate way to categorise the data and seen as “heart and soul of whole-text analysis” (Ryan and Bernard 2000, cited in Packer 2011:58). Coding became the first stage of my analysis (Miles and Huberman 2013).

My initial categories for coding were derived from my key research themes of: new managerialism, professionalism, race and gender. This allowed me to connect the threads and patterns among the excerpts, searching for connections as the themes developed (Seidman 1998 cited in Packer 2011:58). Sub-categories were created to refine the coding further. Each transcript was scrutinised in a line-by-line analysis searching for the core themes as well as identifying and categorising other emergent areas that were presenting. This stage of analysis is defined as explicit coding of the data as categories were being created associated with each incident of data (Richards 2015). However after manually coding two transcripts in this way it became difficult for me to track all the categories and sub-categories of data.

I attended an Nvivo 10 (qualitative data analysis software) workshop to explore the benefits of using the software in organising the data. Nvivo 10 proved useful in managing the data: classifying, sorting and arranging the

data into tables, charts and reports so it was made more visible and easily accessible. Consequently, I imported each transcript into Nvivo 10 and categorised the data. However, simply coding the data was not enough to allow for qualitative interpretation of what I had found. I returned to the literature and the use of a critical race theory framework to assist in making sense of the data.

#### *Data summary and theorisation*

Early summary of both data-sets revealed experiences underpinned with discriminatory issues. The summary appeared to be compounded by changes made in areas such as staffing and workload levels; efficiency measures and increased accountabilities; the erosion of collegiality and the new perceived role for students as customers. These changes seemingly were made without corresponding changes in key policies such as diversity awareness, work life balance and stress management.

Throughout these findings, unfair discrimination has loomed as the significant differentiator between this study and many others that have simply examined the impact of new managerialism from a whole academy or senior management perspective. The impact of new managerialism was being felt and manifested through a range of practices that appeared to be unfair, inequitable and unacceptable to many if not all of the participants. It seemed to me that their ethnicity was making a more significant difference in their experiences than their gender or any other factor. Subsequently, I have used critical race theory (CRT) as an appropriate framework by which their experiences could be interpreted and analysed.

#### *Application of a critical race theory framework*

In sense-making, I had to provide a means of rationalising the participants' experiences and establish meaning to the information gathered. I explored how the participants have responded to their experiences, given their "beliefs and values and unbelievable warnings missed" (Smerck 2011:10)

and how they have re-constructed their academic roles and selves as a result of new managerialism impacts. Their experiences have served as interpretive structures upon which I have imposed a sense of order and understanding (Delgado 1989 in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995) through CRT filters.

In making sense of the data, CRT was my preferred approach for a number of reasons. Firstly, as Black women, almost all of the participants had made comments about racial issues openly, inadvertently or sub-consciously far more than they spoke about gender issues. This placed the discussion within a race discourse much more than it did with one relating primarily to gender (for example Black feminism). Overall, race appeared to be more salient in the participants' experiences.

Secondly, with race identified as the dominant issue in these findings, I have positioned any discussion relating to gender and other perceived inequalities within the CRT tenet on intersectionality. Within this tenet, I have discussed race in connection to gender and age and explained how a deeper understanding of their experiences could be enabled by understanding these intersections.

Thirdly, the starting point for CRT is a focus on the endemic nature of racism and power (reflected in CRT tenets one and two). This study unearthed not just overt acts of racism but also the more subtle and hidden operations of power (Gillborn 2006a) disadvantaging Black women.

Fourthly, this study was about exploring and analysing their experiences through the stories and counter-stories (defined in Table 3.5) the women shared. I have used this third CRT tenet of story-telling as a fundamental tool in bringing to life their experiences and in naming their reality (Ladson-Billings 1998).

Finally, I have simultaneously placed the participants' experiences within a critique of new managerialism's purported neo-liberalism (its manifestation, policies and practice) and used this tenet (number five) contextually as the background in which their experiences were located. Table 3.5, reflects the framework taken from the literature which includes my interpretation of each tenet area and was used in analysing and making-sense of the participants' experiences.

**Table 3.5: Critical race theory tenets: application and analysis**

	<b>CRT tenet</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Application and analysis</b>
1	Permanence of racism	Racism, both conscious and unconscious is a permanent component of American life; society allocates status and privilege by race.	Racism is endemic and a component of English HEIs; common experience for Black women; difficult to address because often unacknowledged.
2	Whiteness as property	Because of the history of race and racism in the US and the role US jurisprudence has played in reifying conceptions of race, the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest.	The UK's approach to race equality over the last thirty years and the emergence of Institutionalised racism as a valid concern; White over colour ascendancy is evident; I believe that the notion of Whiteness can be considered a property interest in the academy.
3	Counter story-telling and majoritarian narratives	A method of telling a story that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths especially ones held by the majority.	Competence to tell stories likely to be unknown to White counterparts; telling stories that aim to cast doubts on the validity of majoritarian accepted premises or myths.
4	Interest convergence	Significant progress for Blacks is achieved only when the goals of Blacks are consistent with the needs of Whites.	Little incentive to eradicate racism.
5	Critique of liberalism	Critiques of basic notions embraced by liberal ideology to include colour blindness, meritocracy and neutrality of the law.	An insistence on equal treatment across the board; critique of basic notions embraced by new managerialism to include colour-blindness, race-neutrality and meritocracy in the academy.
6	Intersectionality	Considers race across races and the intersection of race with other identities and differences.	Black female academic's sense of self is not unitary or based on singular factors but intersects with other points of difference.

Note: Adapted from Horsford (2010) and Capper (2015)

### **3.4 Ethical Issues**

Ethical issues permeate the study, which complies with the ethical expectations and codes of the University of Bedfordshire. In the pursuit of the participants' truths, I needed to be mindful of the "rights and values" of these participants (Cohen et al 2009:49). I protected their interests in areas such as informed consent, privacy and confidentiality as well as ensuring accuracy in my study results (Easterby-Smith et al 2012).

Access and acceptance constituted part of my ethical obligation and I was careful to ensure my credibility and competence as a researcher could be verified and substantiated (Cohen et al 2009). I presented myself professionally and responsibly at all times in undertaking the interviews, being well informed of my topic and being sensitive to the participants in the interviews. This was important as I used a snow-balling technique and any adverse experience on the part of a participant would be influential and deny further access to others (Cohen et al 2009). Other participants were suggested by many of the interviewees for inclusion in my study.

Based upon my provision of full and open information about my research I obtained informed consent from the participants for voluntarily agreeing to participate (Christians 2011). In knowing the purpose of my study their responses were more insightful and valuable to the research (Easterby-Smith et al 2012). Simultaneously, I obtained consent to record the interviews and advised participants that they could terminate the interview at any point if they no longer wished to continue (see Appendix B).

I assured the participants of confidentiality and anonymity throughout the research process (Bell 2010). I codified the names of the participants on the transcripts and anonymised all other identifiable names and references to their workplace or colleagues. All data were uploaded and made secure on my personal laptop using passwords known only to me for access

(Christians 2011). Paper documents were secured in a locked filing cabinet at home, accessible only to me.

As interviews were used, it was important for me not to misrepresent the participants' views and to ensure the accuracy of the data. The participants were each sent respective transcripts for confirmation of accuracy and truth ensuring the research was free from any risk of deception (Christians 2011). None of the participants made comments nor wished to change the transcript information.

I sought not to embarrass or harm any of the participants being interviewed (Reiss 1979, cited in Christians 2011:66). In doing no harm, I considered not just physical harm but emotional harm (Christians 2011:68) as a few of the participants re-lived emotional and even painful experiences. Where the participants became emotional or upset I remained silent or asked if they wanted to continue or pause the interview, or stop recording. All continued with their interviews.

### **3.5 Reflexivity**

This was a qualitative study from which I could not be extracted as my own experiences were part of this process. According to Holliday (2010) reflexivity is a means by which researchers come to terms with the complexity of their presence in the research process and indeed, I was able to exploit my immersion in the study methodically. In re-living the study and the interplay between the participants, the research topic and myself, I understood the different elements of the research better, more critically and completely (Holliday 2010; Altheide and Johnson 2011). In being reflexive and establishing a written awareness of this process I have made myself more accountable and my study more transparent as the best way of ensuring integrity and trustworthiness in the study.

To build transparency in my study I used a diary to capture my reflections and to remember interview experiences. I have had conversations about my research with critical friends and other friendly academics. I have presented and discussed my findings in workshops, seminars and writing retreats, opening it up to debate, comment and criticism from colleagues, early career researchers as well as having the workshop leaders play devil's advocate in asking challenging questions about my research data. My seeking out a key informant (professor with a focus on race in education) for critique and guidance helped in refining and re-focusing this study. Consequently, relevant revisions have been made at critical stages of this study. The remainder of this section explores and explains my experiences and encountered problems and how they were addressed, resolved, compromised or even avoided (Altheide and Johnson 2011).

### *3.5.1 Identity and positionality*

In starting this journey six years ago, I believed that my background as a Black female of Jamaican ethnicity and a tertiary qualified academic placed me in what I perceived to be an advantageous position as a researcher. In being immersed in a study about Black women, I saw myself as being on the same side as my participants, being a Black female academic just like them. I saw myself as an insider, undertaking research about Black women made easier because of my ethnicity, gender and employment in higher education. I assumed that Black female participants were more likely to take part in my research and open up to another Black female academic, however this was not always the case (discussed further in 3.5.2). Nonetheless, accessing this participant group, for me, denoted success on my part as an insider. I saw myself as championing their voices and providing additional knowledge about their experiences.

According to Creswell (2009:8):

Researchers ... position themselves in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their personal, cultural and historical experiences.

Even though race research is perceived as more respectable when conducted by White researchers (Jones 2006:152), “the marginality of Black feminist scholars gives them distinctive analyses of race...and gender”(Hill Collins 1986, cited in Andersen 1993:42).

As a Black woman, I felt I was better able to understand the participants' experiences and struggles in academia, as there was similarity in my own experiences. However, my being an insider did not always guarantee that it was easier to communicate with other Caribbean or African women who viewed me with some suspicion. For example, I had some difficulty in getting R4 and R5 to open up in their discussions and suspected that they viewed my research motives and me guardedly. At times during the interview R5 appeared uninterested, drumming her fingers on the table intermittently throughout the interview. R16 and R17 kept me waiting beyond my appointment time.

It appeared that I was not necessarily treated or considered in a special way even though or perhaps because I was a Black woman. Whereas I thought I was an insider with some of the participants who really engaged with the interviews (for example, R7, R11, R12), I still felt like an outsider in not being as qualified or as research-active as they were and felt I was judged through those lens. In these instances I ensured that I was highly knowledgeable about my research topic and could highlight the significance of this study into experiences of Black women in the academy. This served to satisfy the participants.



### *3.5.2 Establishing relations with the participants*

In the social context of the interview, I felt that I had to prove myself as a competent academic researcher and interviewer to some of the participants whilst simultaneously demonstrating that I was a Black woman, struggling in the academy and still one of them. I felt that many simply did not have the opportunity to be interviewed by other Black women and that this was not a common experience to them. At times, it felt that not every participant was comfortable with my being in this position. I felt that my role as an interviewer was subjectively weakened in their eyes because of this. For instance, the challenges I encountered in excavating information from R5 may well have been symptomatic of my being there and not other issues as explored in the next section. On the other hand, I was a researcher exploring the participants' experiences while accessing consent/information forms, making notes and using a recorder. I was aware that even though I sought a close rapport and relationship with the participants I still had to ensure that I distanced myself from making easy conclusions and also ensured that the participants did not simply tell me things to get through the interview quickly by reassuring them of the importance of the stories they shared. In every interview undertaken, I increasingly understood the importance of establishing the right context for information to be shared.

According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2014), key factors within the context are the interviewer and the interviewee. If the context is not aligned in a way that is fitting for both, then the resultant impact can be a lack of reciprocity, inadvertently or not and reflected in my interview with R5. I had assumed there were greater similarities between these participants and myself and "fewer barriers to mitigate" so our interviewer/interviewee relationship would work better (Johnson-Bailey 1999:669). This was proven to not always be the case. In describing and analysing the findings from the interviews, I incorporated and examined the contexts relevantly

for additional information which would have affected what was said or done during the interview. The contexts were re-visited several times in looking for connections and disconnections that might be pertinent (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014). Accordingly, disconnections were noted to do with lateness, fear of being over-heard, crossing picket-lines, and disruptions to the interview time. Some of these issues I have discussed below.

*Uncomfortable power dynamics*

There was what I felt to be an overt exhibition of power from at least three of the participants. On three occasions I was kept waiting between thirty and ninety minutes even though the participants were informed that I had arrived.

Participant R5 kept me waiting for forty minutes. She had what I perceived to be quite hostile body language with arms tightly folded across her chest. Her manner, I felt, was quite defensive and instead of this being an interview it felt like a sparring match as I tried to develop rapport and trust. She seemed quite wary of me. R5's responses to questions asked were often quite short and in some instances seemed quite aggressive. Her attitude and approach surprised me, as I assumed because I was a Black woman in conversation with another Black woman that there would be an increased sense of familiarity and welcome (because of my race and gender) as an insider.

I had assumed that she was similar to me and expected mutual reciprocity. R5 was from a different Caribbean island to myself; had fewer years in the academy; was less qualified and younger. However, her perception of me may well have been formed as she had asked questions about me (through the snow-balled contact) and may even have viewed me as an outsider in her space. According to Song and Parker (1995), how an interviewee perceives the interviewer could affect what they choose to

reveal and the way in which this is done. On later reflection, I remembered R5 had earlier crossed an industrial action academic picket line in order to deliver a promised test to students. This action might have affected her demeanour and influenced her responses during the interview.

Another participant (R16), had a student drop by unexpectedly around the same time as my appointment. I waited for thirty minutes, pacing the corridor, as there was nowhere to sit. No apology was offered for keeping me waiting. To me it seemed there was an air of superiority emanating from R16 and I got the impression that I was lucky that she was making time for me. Again, I maintained my composure throughout the interview even though I was infuriated by her lack of courtesy.

R17 was the final participant I saw. She was purposely delayed having lunch with friends and turned up when lunch was over, ninety minutes later. She was very apologetic but it meant that I could not spend as much time with her as initially planned. In this instance, I had the impression that she expected me to wait as long as it was necessary until she had finished her lunch. I did contemplate postponing the interview to a later date but simultaneously understood she may not have availed herself at a later date.

#### *Reflections on power dynamics*

It was clear to me that I held less power in the interview setting as the participants could simply refuse to partake further (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014). As these were important interviews to me, I waited and tried not to be too annoyed or frustrated going into the interview. In these instances, the interviewees had greater power than I did over this process (Easterby-Smith et al 2012; Brinkmann and Kvale 2014). I was mindful however that my interviews with these participants may have been influenced by their impression of punctuality, politeness and to keeping others waiting. The participants may have picked up my response to this annoyance. The

interviews with R5, R16 and R17 were shorter than the interviews with the other participants.

*Wife and mother*

Even though many of the participants accepted me as a doctoral candidate undertaking research, there were those with whom I was able to relate to on a wife or mother level. In discussing emergent issues of childcare and even support at home in maintaining professionalism I was able to establish greater rapport and increase attentiveness (for example with R2, R15). Some of the participants were then able to discuss in a different way in which, for example, their home-life balance and their sense of self was affected by new managerialism practices. This approach I determined deemed less threatening to them.

*Friend of a friend*

Through snow-balling, I was better received in most instances as I was introduced by relevant others.

*Being qualified*

Some of the participants were more understanding of my purpose as they too had been doctoral candidates. Both R11 and R12 acknowledged that it was important for the “sisters” (other Black women) to be as qualified as possible in the academy. Overall, empathy was demonstrated for pursuing further qualifications by many of the participants. However where the participant did not have a PhD or undertook research there was no importance or preference attached to my study (R5 through her body language and R16 who kept me waiting). Both R5 and R16 I felt were similar in some ways. Neither wanted to pursue PhDs and felt secure in the academy because of their expertise (one an economist the other a barrister by training). This may have contributed to how they behaved towards me.

### *3.5.3 Reflections on the interviews*

In undertaking interviews, I too was asked questions by some of the participants about my own experiences of racism and being treated unfairly in the academy. I answered honestly, as I knew that in exchanging personal information with the participants there was a greater likelihood that they would reciprocate similarly in an open and honest manner.

In some instances, my interviews were interrupted. My interview with R4 was interrupted for about fifteen minutes, as she had to suddenly “see someone”. R3 had a meeting to attend after forty minutes into the interview, and gave me ten minutes’ notice of this. R13’s interview was interrupted by a fire alarm, which meant re-locating to continue the conversation. In the case of R4 the interview lost its flow when it resumed and continued for around ten more minutes. R3 re-scheduled the rest of her interview but I felt the second part was not as dynamic as the first. R13’s interview continued in a private study room in the library and actually became more powerful in what she later shared, some of her experiences proving quite significant in this study. Consequently, R3’s and R4’s findings on their experiences were not as deep as many of the others. However, R13’s reflections on her experiences showed tremendous depth and connection to my study themes, despite the interruption.

### *Recording and summarising the interviews*

Interestingly enough, in advising that the interview was starting (after the biographical questions were completed) some of the participants changed their tone once the recorder was switched on, indicating a shift in “conversational genre and subject positions” (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014:204). The conversation became more formal with the recorder switched on with many of the participants adjusting their sitting position so they were more upright. In my mind they now held conversational power and sought after information. They had information that I wanted and they

could choose how much to give. Even though I controlled the questions, they controlled the quality of their responses.

When the recorder was switched off, there was a physical sigh of relief from many of the participants. In this instance the recorder functioned as a “context marker” (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014:204), noting the start and end of the interview. The conversation tone often changed as many of the participants opened up more in some instances and much to my dismay as the hope was to have recorded all their experiences.

According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2014) attention needs to be paid to what happens at the end of an interview as it may carry qualitative significance. On four occasions, I retrieved the recorder and switched it on again to capture more of their experiences. In one instance, R9 began to recount more of her experiences once the recorder was off and I hastily switched it back on (with her permission) and ended up recording for a further thirty minutes.

I created interview summary forms to log the evidence captured or areas not captured as a means of memorialising the interview (see Appendix C). These summaries allowed me to reflect upon what I needed to have done differently to gain richer information and what areas I actually explored. These summaries were especially important in phase one as I was able to identify where my emphasis was placed and what areas the participants were not providing much information on for example gender issues.

My diary also reflected my interview experiences, my impressions of the quality of information gathered and observations of the participants in their settings. Observations such as their emotions to questions asked; tone of their responses; changes in their body language. Doing this was useful for my own reflections on overall meanings and in presenting the participants’ views more contextually (Creswell 2009) in an attempt to better understand who they were in relation to their experiences and to

appreciate how I too was impacted by their experiences. For example, I became more critical of my own experiences and was able to identify other things that had happened to me that I had easily dismissed. In essence, I became more sentient of my own work environment.

#### *Reflections on the interview questions*

In providing participants with a definition of new managerialism, I have recognised that there was likelihood that I could have directed their responses inadvertently. There was a possibility that they had based their discussion of new managerialism issues purely upon my definition. Introducing issues to do with the changing environment of the academy may have been sufficient to bring new managerialism issues to the surface and have allowed participants to conceptualise this term differently. This intrusion or offer of explanation went beyond my imposed position as an interviewer.

I had initially made the assumption that because the participants were Black women, more specific questions about their race or gender need not be asked as they would naturally emerge in the discussion. I believed at the time of the first interview that it was sufficient that she was a Black woman and her responses would imply as much. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011) if such assumptions are not identified, the researcher can remain oblivious to the importance of asking more specific questions, in this instance related to their being Black women. Feedback provided by my first participant after her interview revealed that she felt the interview questions were “not Black enough”. In enquiring what she meant, she explained that she should have been asked explicit questions about being a Black woman in the academy. Even though I had discussed my broad themes for the interview there were no questions reflecting race or gender. I was indeed oblivious to the necessity of asking specific questions in this area until it was brought to my attention.

Reflecting on what the first participant had said and with guidance from my supervisory team, questions about being a Black woman in the academy were specifically introduced to the other five participants during the pilot phase, which allowed specific discussions in this area to be developed.

With the sense of struggle Black women often feel, I needed to be sensitive in raising and pursuing questions relating to racial issues as well as to their gender as I accepted that these were areas they may not have wished to discuss. In being sensitive to asking questions in this area I became more attentive; paused more, gave more thinking time and where a few became emotional, asked if a break was needed. All participants willingly answered questions asked in this area. Simultaneously, I advised the participants that if they perceived my questions in this area to be sensitive or even too intrusive they could decline to respond or terminate the interview if they wished.

I realised that in asking questions about their experiences as Black women that many if not all of the participants placed their emphasis on their ethnicity as opposed to their gender. Even when asked about gender in the academy they often reverted back to their ethnicity emphasising that new managerialism affected them as a woman but more so as a Black woman. New managerialism seemed to be adding to their sense of jeopardy in being Black, being a woman and having to contend with issues of new managerialism.

I questioned whether race was really more significant or whether I was making it more significant. This question could be my sub-conscious values and position surfacing and driving the interviews forward in a particular direction. Indeed, I asked questions about their ethnicity first before talking about gender. This order of questions could have influenced their responses and was problematic to me. Therefore, I changed the order of the questions asking about gender before race. Nevertheless,



race was still made more significant by the participants, leading me to explore the literature on racism further, particularly in the area of critical race theory.

#### *3.5.4 Reflections on the pilot phase*

It was after the third interview that I realised that the semi-structured interview schedule I employed, contained too many questions. Consequently, I did not always get through all of them within the agreed time frame (usually an hour). Some of the questions were not asked as they had not provided more useful information or were disguised repetitions. For example questions fourteen and fifteen (see Appendix A) both asked how their work was being affected by the changes; questions twenty and twenty-one, similarly, asked how they defined themselves as professionals. I realised the interviews were much too structured and that I was controlling the direction of the discussion through leading follow-up questions. For example, in R2's interview I had asked "so assumptions were made?" and she replied "yes". In being mistaken as a student I also asked R2 if it was because of her youthful appearance and she replied "yes".

In subsequent interviews, rather than re-define my list of questions I simply asked fewer questions in more open ways focusing upon my broad themes and allowing the discussion to develop naturally so the womens' experiences were fully heard without my unnecessary interruptions and haste to complete a list of questions. I asked fewer questions, listened more, kept quiet through their silent moments thus their experiences had more space and time to be reported.

Going forward into phase two, I was more conscious of my interview style as my use of leading questions were evidenced in three of the pilot phase transcripts. At times, I had answered their questions about my own experiences, which indicated a subtle shift in control on the part of the interviewee. In recognising this shift, I was able to regain control of the interview and questioning. I had to be more reflective of how I asked the questions. I listened to myself in the recordings; I re-read the transcripts to identify at what stage I interjected more. I then built upon previous interview experiences to ensure clarity and not attempt to fill the silences with my own voice and experiences. This meant exercising greater patience in waiting for answers to be given. On reflection, it seemed as if I too wanted to be an interviewee telling my story not simply the interviewer.

#### *3.5.5 Reflections on data analysis*

In analysing the qualitative data, it became clear that there was a tension between the expected qualitative analytical approach and my quantitative researcher side, which emerged the more I used Nvivo 10 to analyse my transcripts. I continued to use Nvivo for longer than was necessary. I created tables and charts and used modelling, all to display my data but not to analyse it further. In a sense, I believed I was trying to justify its wider use in this study but increasingly understood that Nvivo would not be able to interpret and analyse my data. My inner positivist-self ran contra to my ontological position of being exploratory and interpretive in re-constructing the participants' realities based upon their facts and their truths. I struggled with remaining true to a qualitative approach during the data analysis as it challenged my quantitative heart that simply wanted to count. In presenting the findings however, I have ensured that the participants' voices are fore-fronted through the qualitative quotes cited.

### *3.5.6 Reflections on sense-making of the data*

I started this journey with a focus on new managerialism six years ago not realising how critical race issues would become in these findings. Race discrimination superseded new managerialism, the participants' sense of professionalism and gender to become the most significant issue in this study. My interviews with the participants revealed that discrimination was embedded in their experiences.

I had made several assumptions about race based upon my own experiences as a Black woman. I made assumptions that others would be similar to me and experiences endured within a shared community mind-set. This was not always the case and exploring race was not as simple as I first imagined because of the complexities of the participants' background, history, age and so on.

The study was more complex than I initially imagined it would be. I struggled in finding a framework to support my findings, discussions and interpretations as the findings moved beyond general experiences of new managerialism. I struggled with making more sense of the data and had to invest additional time in understanding the different tenets of critical race theory in greater depth.

However, in identifying that discrimination and in particular race emerged as a significant area for investigation in this study I believed I was better able to understand these "nuances of oppression" (Andersen 1993:40) as articulated by the participants.

There are certain aspects of racial phenomena ...that are particularly difficult, if not impossible for a member of the oppressing group to grasp empirically and formulate conceptually. These barriers are...methodological as well as...ethical. (Blauner and Wellman 1973, cited in Andersen 1993:40)

I have exhibited reflexivity in being continuously aware and paying attention to how the different elements in this research were interwoven in developing new knowledge and how it was interpreted, constructed and written (Easterby-Smith et al 2012). This was significant for me because of my race and my gender and the high likelihood that these elements have influenced my approach and understanding of the findings.

In undertaking this study, I have brought my own perspective and a greater depth of voice as a Black woman researching African and Caribbean female academics. My interpretations have made a contribution of new knowledge to the field as indicated in the final chapter. I believe that this is different to others who have researched the field of Black academics but have never themselves experienced racism or other forms of discrimination. How I chose to interpret and affect these findings was variable but dependent upon my own experiences. I drew upon my own identity as a Black female academic in establishing insights and new ways of seeing and interpreting information about Black women in the academy thereby adding to the knowledge about academics in the academy (Yosso 2005).

### *3.5.7 Personal changes*

This study has continued to impose changes upon me: in challenging my beliefs about life in the academy; in resurrecting my own buried or overlooked experiences and in viewing the academy critically and through CRT lenses. I have been transparent in my writing in showing all my workings (Holliday 2010) and have been reflexive in learning how to behave appropriately in the process of data collection and interpretation (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). As a researcher, this meant I had to ensure that that I was asking myself the difficult questions about my own research practice on a regular basis as well as in a critical and reflective way (Easterby-Smith et al 2012).

### **3.6 Trustworthiness and Integrity of the Data**

In providing trustworthiness, integrity and reassurance in a social constructionist study, the criteria of “authenticity, plausibility and criticality” also need to be fulfilled (Golden-Biddle and Locke 1993, cited in Easterby-Smith et al 2012:53).

This study was made plausible by having explored the experiences of a minority ethnic group and the consequent generation of emotions on both parts (for example compassion, anger, frustration). This study has caused me to reflect deeply and reflexively on an experience that has changed my world and me. A few of the participants acknowledged that my line of questioning especially about issues to do with race really made them think, deeply and critically about the impact of their experiences.

Amis and Silk (2008, cited in Easterby-Smith et al 2012:53) suggest that good qualitative research “should be partisan” siding with less powerful members of society and organisations. The study has raised the more marginal voices of African and Caribbean women in the academy in a credible way and provided new knowledge of their realities. Further, that quality would be evidenced by, for example: “sharing of emotional experiences; moving people to reflect and act...providing trusting and friendly relations with those studied” (ibid, p53). The study has achieved a high level of quality as rapport has been established and some of the participants as well as myself have become emotive during the process.

According to Easterby-Smith et al (2012), authenticity is about proving to the reader that the researcher has a profound level of understanding about the research. In undertaking an iterative approach to reviewing the literature, participating in in-depth interviews, becoming familiar with the participants’ voices and their physical cues (via the recordings and the transcripts) and in interpreting their narratives I have developed a deeper

understanding of the study. My reflexivity throughout this process has enhanced my familiarity with every aspect of the study.

The criticality criterion is an invitation to researcher introspection in questioning own assumptions (Easterby-Smith et al 2012). Subjectivity is inevitable in qualitative research and given my philosophical positioning, was to be expected. I have contemplated, challenged and questioned my role throughout this process in acts of reflexivity for a number of reasons. As a single investigator, the study was consistent but prone to bias which is revealed through my reflexivity. However, in order to avoid my personal biases impacting on the data collection and analysis all the participants were sent copies of their transcripts and invited to indicate/change any inaccuracies. Moreover, in being reflexive I have increased the transparency of my study and the findings, having discussed my own experiences and on-going reflections throughout this process.

### **3.7 Chapter Conclusion**

In seeking to explore, understand and interpret the experiences of my participants I have used a social constructivist paradigm to negotiate both access and dialogue via a qualitative approach to data gathering. I have interpreted, explained and made sense of the participants' experiences through an epistemology of reflexive thinking and critical analysis (Weick 1995; Weick et al 2005; Cohen et al 2009; Easterby-Smith et al 2012).

Behind the methodology was my own story: speaking from a particular background, gender and ethnicity and approaching this research with my own set of ideas and structure (ontology) that drove a set of questions (epistemology) which were then examined (methodically, analytically, reflexively) in different ways (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). This process was subject to ethical considerations at all times. This approach served to

immerse me further into this study while taking into account already pre-conceived thoughts about my participants. The next chapter presents and analyses the findings.

## **4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the new managerialism issues that have shaped the experiences of the research participants in this study. In order to analyse and discuss my findings, I have returned to the initial research questions this study set out to address:

1. How has new managerialism been experienced by Black female academics in English post-1992 universities?
2. How has new managerialism influenced the way in which Black women view themselves as professionals in the academy?

I have used a critical race theory framework (as discussed in chapters two and three) to guide the structure of the analysis and discussion. Race was found to be salient in the study participants' daily experiences of life in the academy. Their experiences were used as interpretive structures upon which to impose a sense of order and understanding of their realities (Delgado 1989, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995) through the lens of critical race theory (CRT).

### **4.1 Application of Critical Race Theory**

As stated in the literature chapter, CRT's foundational principles identified six tenets, outlined as: permanence of racism; Whiteness as property; counter-story telling; interest convergence; critiques of liberalism and intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991; Delgado and Stefancic 2000; DeCuir and Dixson 2004).



In determining the new managerialism themes to be explored, I have placed a specific focus on areas that have had significant relevance to issues of discrimination in the academy. These areas although relevant to others in the academy, became more significant to these participants as it highlighted issues to do with racism. Issues that these participants have commonly or uncommonly identified and articulated as being experienced differently by virtue of their being Black women. For example, issues to do with the HEI environment and how they were perceived and treated; the impact of new managerialism efficiencies and work loading; impact of their (White) colleagues' behaviour and the changing role of students as customers. It is matters such as these that I have chosen to explore in greater detail to emphasise the different ways in which these participants had experienced new managerialism. In using the CRT tenets as a framework, greater clarity and deeper understanding is developed.

In application to my study, the main focus was on CRT tenets one, two, four and six. It became clear from the discussions that the participants' deliberations were mostly about race and racism (tenet one) as well as their feelings of being considered as outsiders and being made invisible in the academy (Whiteness as property, tenet two). At times, it proved difficult to separate the discussions neatly as there were many areas of over-lap between tenets one and two. This was true in discussing intersectionality (tenet six), where some of the comments made could have been perceived as a specific result of the study participants' ethnicity. However, there was additional evidence which indicated that other issues apart from race which were being included and added to their experiences. The final key tenet for discussion is that of interest convergence (tenet four), which was particularly relevant as the participants shared experiences and counter-stories around issues for example, of tokenism, being stereotyped and mentor-matching strategies. Tenet three (story-telling and counter-story telling) has been used in relating and structuring

the women's experiences; and tenet five contextually, in critiquing the neo-liberalist agenda of new managerialism in the academy.

I have attempted to capture the words and feelings of these participants in a way that has ensured their voices and experiences are heard, imagined and represented accurately in this study. I found that some participants were more vocal than others on certain issues, notwithstanding, all of the women's experiences are explicitly told and followed through in reflection of the CRT tenet being explored.

The findings have been illuminated and illustrated with the use of verbatim quotations which have been slightly edited for clarity, but with care taken not to change the participants' meanings in any way. I have referred to the participants as: R1, for participant 1; R2, for participant 2 and so on throughout the discussion. Their quotations have been attributed anonymously using the following convention: participant; years in the academy; department.

Through a concise and accurate use of this thesis as a medium for expression, the participants' stories have been told. The picture that has emerged is sense-making, as a "process that is on-going, instrumental, swift and social" (Weick et al 2005:409). In this chapter I have allowed meanings to materialise and situations, experiences and environments to be talked into existence.

The next section opens with a discussion on the participants' experiences of the permanence of racism in the academy.

## **4.2 CRT Tenet: Permanence of Racism**

In exploring the manifestation of this tenet in the academy, I have examined issues to do with the changing environment of HEIs as a result of new managerialism. Much of the premise behind new managerialism is its drive for efficiencies and increasing customer satisfaction (Kirkpatrick and Martinez Lucio, 1995) as well as its promotion of neo-liberalist policies that promote for example, equality and diversity initiatives in the organisation. The overall characteristic of the data found, is one which places a heavy emphasis on issues to do with: the HEI environment, management, colleagues and students as well as efficiency pursuits. These are the areas under discussion in this section.

### *4.2.1 Prevalence of racism in the academy*

This fundamental tenet of CRT suggests that racism is normal or ordinary and not aberrant in society and that status and privilege are allocated by race, legitimising perpetual discrimination (Crenshaw 1988; Delgado 1995; Delgado and Stefancic 2001). This was interpreted to mean that racism is pervasive, often deeper, often invisible, more insidious than known and considered normal to the majority of people. This permanence of racism is described as “a changing same” and as “ceaseless motion” where nothing really changes, despite new policies or practises being introduced to counter unfair discrimination (Gilroy 1993, cited in Warmington 2012:7). This description therefore infers that the more things change, the more they remain the same for Black academics. Consequently, Black women are more likely than any other group to report incidences of discrimination at work (Carter et al 1999; Jones 2006; ECU 2009; Arya 2012; ECU 2015a). Interrogation of the data revealed the extent to which participants were able to identify that this permanence of racism is evident in the academy.

Of all the participants interviewed, R11 had what was felt to be a strong and particularly powerful story to tell reflecting her experiences in the academy and traversing every CRT tenet. As a result, her voice has featured prominently throughout much of this discussion as it best reflected the pervasiveness of racism in the academy.

### 4.2.2 *Racism is endemic*

When asked about racism in the academy R11 was quite clear that it existed:

There were times I would come into the office and there were drawings of a monkey on my door and it would say, 'go away, what are you doing here?' It happened to me and another colleague who was from Mauritius, a Black woman and another one was from Africa, a Black woman. When we reported these things nothing was done. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

In highlighting that this was done more than once and to other Black women, would indicate that racism was clearly overt, prevalent and persistent (Capper 2015). The drawings of a monkey and the words stated could be seen as blatant acts of hate (López 2003). This is despite the Race Relations Act passing into English law more than forty years ago and additional amendments made in 2000. These amendments made it a legal duty for public bodies to report and record incidences of racism for monitoring as well as to promote equality, diversity and race awareness.

This excerpt raises questions as to why the drawing was done in the first place and why no action was ever taken at the time. It is not clear to whom these reports were made and at what level, which may have resulted in a different response to this occurrence within the HEI. The display of inaction in response to these women reporting these incidences would seem to counter the essence of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. It

could likewise be perceived as an acknowledgement that this act of leaving a picture of a monkey on R11's door, was unimportant to whomever the report was made. It would seem that if this deed was normal behaviour, requiring no further response, it demonstrated an absence of any desire for change.

In using racist imagery and messages in a crude act of racial hatred perhaps in pursuit of what may be perceived as a whiter academy by the White majority, it is apparent that these Black women (as indicated by R11) were told repeatedly that they did not belong in their HEIs. Images such as these may be perceived as amusing or even true by the sender and any response about the offensive nature of the images by the recipient could be construed as humourless or even touchy (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Therefore, in anticipation of a likely down-played response, it may become difficult to challenge fellow colleagues and may even serve to encourage similar behaviour (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

I further interpret this situation as belonging under the second CRT tenet of Whiteness as property, where the academic institution is seen as exclusive property, available for White academics only and others viewed as trespassers. This is discussed in more detail under the property tenet in the next section.

R11 was the only participant in this study to report such a flagrant act of racism and this reveals that for a few in the academy, it really is about racism being endemic and overt, whereas for the other participants, racism was often a more covertly felt experience.

Reflecting further on the presence of racism in the academy, one participant was able to make unexpected connections from her childhood in charting her experiences in the academy:

One thing I didn't tell you which is something that I am just realising, I was actually born in apartheid<sup>27</sup>. I was born in Zimbabwe when it was Rhodesia and I was born in a Black township and it was illegal for me and my mum to be on another side of town at six o'clock at night. We would get arrested or get kicked out by the police. I was born in a racially segregated country. I spent the first five years of my life living as an inferior second class citizen. So when I say I feel it, I go back to that. I know when someone is trying to discriminate against me because of my race and my gender. I sense it in the manner they speak to you and all these things because I was born and socialised into that. (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

This participant was able to make what was perceived to be sudden and important connections in terms of what it is like to be different, through making comparisons to her experiences in the academy. Her childhood experiences indicated being seen as a trespasser and being potentially detained by the police as part of her normality. In the academy, this differential treatment could be perceived as her having a dissimilar and unequal status to that of her White colleagues, as well as being seen as controllable property (depicted within both tenets one and two). This participant implied that as a result of her childhood experiences she was suddenly cognisant of what was going on in the academy and why it felt familiar. In 'feeling it', she also commented on sensing it in the "manner they speak to you". This evidence seems to support the existence of conscious or unconscious racism, or even the use of micro-aggressions or what could be described as dog-whistle politics. This form of micro-politics is indicative where speech is used in a coded manner to send a specific

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<sup>27</sup> Apartheid existed as a political system in South Africa from 1948 to the early 1990s that separated the different peoples living there and gave privileges to those of European origin (Encarta Dictionary on line, accessed on 18/09/15). Even though Zimbabwe was not officially declared as having an apartheid system, R13's experiences indicate and seem to her, that it existed, albeit informally in the country.

message to the intended recipient, like a dog-whistle, which is unrecognised by others (Palmer Cook 2012). These messages often constitute subtle forms of racism which are hard to prove.

This trigger of consciousness for R13, may have the potential to be a key determinant in her defining herself in the workplace or in creating distance between herself and her White colleagues or even her job role, as well as separating her from her previous perceptions of the academy. Haney López (2014) suggests that in leaving racial insinuations unchallenged under the colour-blindness ideology, promoted in HEI's diversity policies, enables dog-whistle politics to resonate even more. For R13, I believe this to be an awakening for her and she seems suddenly enlightened by her unexpected awareness:

It just came to me when I was looking at you now. I should have said this to you at the beginning. It just didn't dawn on me but yes, those feelings are with me from when I was a child. (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R13's revelation is a potent one as it seems that she was now more mindful of why things had been experienced in particular ways in her HEI. R13 positioned her experiences in the academy on the same platform as her perceptions of the apartheid system experienced as a child. It would seem that this participant now understands that she is not being considered in the same way as White colleagues in her institution, furthering her sense of inequities present in the system. R13 later commented (off-recording, but noted), that her initial difficulty in identifying this segregation in her current (and only) university was that she simply did not expect to see such a system manifested in England. This recognition distinguishes awareness and as suggested by Gillborn (2006), in pursuing a CRT approach, race and racism should never be marginalised but must be exposed in all its manifestations.

*Racism is subtle*

It has been suggested that Black female academics are the most marginalised and socially disadvantaged group within HEIs (Jones 2006; ECU 2009; UCU 2012a). Some of the participants perceived their race to be a significant factor in their being discriminated against in the academy with references to what I would identify to be specifically discriminatory words and phrases, such as: “apartheid” (R13), “ethnic cleansing” (R8) and the “Guinness effect”<sup>28</sup> (R12) being stated. For example, in identifying what is termed as the Guinness effect, R12 made a similar link between her previous place of employment (a Health Care Institution) and her current workplace:

It's almost the same position in the Health Care sector where there was a big concern about the numbers of BMEs in Health Care and how so few were anywhere near senior level. You could count the numbers who were grade nine, and yet below. Look at grades six and seven. There were loads of us. The NHS did put forward this development initiative for Black people to be able to buddy up with: chief executive, director of nursing, director of finance, to look at role modelling...what you need to do to get those positions; how to actually work in those positions; what are the dynamics that goes on within the organisation at those levels. But considering that's been going now for at least seven years if not more, whether it has made any difference at all, I'm not sure. You still have the Guinness effect in an organisation. The Guinness effect is still very, very, very high. (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

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<sup>28</sup> The Guinness effect was described by participant R12 as a symbolic representation to mean the pouring of Guinness (an Irish dry stout) from the tap at high pressure into a glass which allows a creamy coloured beer head to be created at the top of the glass. When settled, the drink would be seen to be dark for ninety per cent or more of its content and capped with this creamy head for ten per cent or less of the content in the glass. This would be the symbolic representation of the position of black academics in the academy.



This seems to demonstrate that R12 has noticed that there are levels of distinction being experienced in other large public sector organisations not just within HEIs. This distinction is supported by several reports (for example, UCU 2012a; HESA 2016a; ECU 2015b) that all comment upon this lack of upward progression in HEIs as institutions choose to seemingly turn a blind-eye on issues such as developing BME staff and in particular Black staff progression. There is an absence of specific schemes for BME academics (Mirza 2013). However, for R12 it would seem that despite schemes and policies for improving Black staff progression being put in place, for example in the NHS, their effectiveness remains questionable and apparently becomes yet another gesture of equality where interests appear converged (i.e. of senior managers with Black staff expectations of progression) but remains an implementation fallacy, designed to create an illusion of change (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). This attempt at pseudo-convergence may be reflective of racism being part of institutional life and seen as routine and ordinary and the real expectation is that Black staff remain at lower organisational levels in their perceived 'natural' positions (Palmer Cook 2012).

In exploring experiences of HEI racism further, one participant commented:

One of my [Black] colleagues gave the wrong information to the students and they [students] said it was R3. I said, which students? I went to ask the students, then the students said, "oh no, it's because we couldn't remember the other lecturer's name". Well don't you say so? Don't just say it's R3 when it's not R3 because you couldn't remember the other lecturer. I said, do you know the implications of what you are doing?...When I got home that day, I was really thinking about it. I said, what if I was a White lecturer? I am quite sure those students wouldn't quickly have mentioned my name but they were so quick to say R3. (R3, 17 years; Business)

This gives me the impression that students assumed there was sameness about Black lecturers and were quick to infer a presumed homogenisation of people of colour when necessary (Ladson-Billings 1998). This is a common racial perception and stereotype which further embeds racism in the academy and in this situation, is perpetuated by students. Even though people with common origins share for example certain physical traits, they have different personalities, intelligence and so on (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). R3 was the wrong person and her name was given deliberately even though the students were certain she was not the lecturer they were referring to. The ease in which the students' sacrificed her, was indeed alarming to R3 and such behaviour raises the question of whether the students would have been as quick to wrongly identify a White academic in the same way.

The mis-identification and false accusation made against R3 could have the potential to affect her reputation and her well-being. Her reputation, I would view as her personal property and part of her self-identity. The students' accusation constituted what I would determine as being a reverse application of the second CRT tenet, where reputation is viewed as property and a part of Whiteness which must be protected (Harris 1993). R3's reputation was not seen as important to these students, however, she was aware of the implications of this careless accusation. It would seem that unfairness and inequity experienced through further discrimination had left R3 feeling frustrated and emotionally weary. She carried this experience home with her seemingly weighing on her mind, being stereotyped and accused by students because of their racial perceptions.

### *Race and intelligence*

Underpinning critical race theory is the social construction thesis which believes that race and races are derived as a result of social profiling. A common belief behind this construct being that people with common

origins, share common traits and ignores distinctive and defining higher order abilities such as cognitive abilities and intelligence or even leadership and management capabilities (Rushton and Jensen 2005; Ng et al 2012; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). In exploring how pervasive race was in the academy some of the participants commented upon the issue of racial intelligence where they felt they were being “objectified and considered to lack the ability to think” (Gilroy 1987, cited in Warmington 2012:10). This misconception of colour-coding intelligence is likely to perpetuate further misunderstanding of race in the academy, especially as intelligence is often linked to education and qualification.

I received some very interesting comments about me doing a PhD. Some of them were to do with race and some of my [White] colleagues were saying, “What is it about Africans? They seem to want to have letters after their names and some of them aren't even qualified to do that.” (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

Such a generalisation made about Africans (as desiring qualifications but being uneducated to achieve them), implies that this is based on casual observations being made, where becoming qualified may be perceived as threatening to the status quo of the academy. Mirza and Reay (2000), suggest that for a Black person to become educated is to become human. For CRT scholars, removing the potential of Black people being seen as simply property provides even greater credence to Black staff raising their voices in the academy and for the established cultures in HEIs to be disrupted, which may prove unacceptable to the White majority.

Education is the key to changing the status quo, as suggested by a number of the participants:

I feel as a Black woman that I need to pursue my PhD to show other Black women that it is possible and to show the world that it is

possible, and to break down those stereotypes that do exist. (R4, 9 years; Education)

In referring to stereotypes, R4 alluded to critiquing the neo-liberalist view that existed, where the expectation is that higher achievement is possible but in practice this is usually unattainable by Black women.

I know we are not stupid. I know we have intelligence. I know we are good workers and hard workers and I know that we are able but I don't always see people in higher management who look like me colour wise. So I know something must be going on. (R14, 17 years; Health and Social Sciences)

It appears from R14 that the challenges Black female academics encounter, are based upon how qualified or intelligent they are perceived to be in the academy. In knowing, “something must be going on”, suggests that this participant might have an understanding that racism is routine and Black women are still being seen as incapable as summed up by Madrid (1991, cited in Haney López 1993:127):

... the presumption that scholars of colour are narrowly focused or lacking in intellectual depth.. whatever our history, whatever our record, whatever our validation, whatever our accomplishments, by and large we are perceived as one-dimensional and treated accordingly.

Discussion with the participants suggested that some achieved PhDs in order to outwardly satisfy membership to the academy with others at points of near completion. Only three participants during the interviews stated that this was not in their plans. However, both R5 and R8 in post-interview discussions seemed to be re-thinking this with only R16 (23 years in the academy) quite adamant about a PhD not being necessary for her to achieve further progression as she felt she was sufficiently

experienced and professionally qualified in her field (law) not to require further qualifications.

Being better qualified raises the question as to whether progression is made quicker or easier in the academy for a Black woman having a PhD or whether it made any difference at all. A Race at work report (2015), revealed that over a third of Black workers felt that they had been overlooked for promotion. Similarly, R11 commented:

I am seeing others who I would describe as Caucasian, who are less qualified than myself, with less responsibilities than myself...being promoted. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

R11 noticed the inequities in the academy which were seemingly inexplicable as she stated:

We held our ground and said this has got to be sorted out now because we are talking of people here; [White] colleagues being promoted into senior lectureship; into readership with no publications; not even a master's degree and it is so blatant that you can't even make it up. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

R11 has highlighted her own struggle for equal treatment and to be recognised as others are, but for this to be based on ability and qualifications and not on subtle forms of racism. In not being promoted, she believed that the only factor remaining must be her race. It has been suggested by a few authors (Wright et al 2007; Mirza 2008), that although Black academics have acquired appropriate skills and qualifications to articulate and perform in their specific disciplines therefore qualifying them as insiders, Black academics in the UK are still seen as outsiders in higher education. One participant highlighted the coded language that was used to challenge her position and aspirations:

Developing new knowledge as a result of your research doesn't fit in with the academic ideas about where Black people should be...the moment...I'm not feeling great, the first thing they are going to point at is, you are doing your PhD and it's making you ill. You are not coping with it, which is another indirect way of saying you shouldn't be doing it because it's not for you people. Whereas, if it was a White colleague, they would have said, oh I'm sorry to hear that, is there anything I can do to help you? (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

The suggestion made by R13 is that she should not be furthering her acquisition of knowledge, as it is not what is expected by her White colleagues. This statement could imply that she was seen as a trespasser seeking to rise above her “proper social position” (Palmer Cook 2012:17) similar to the perceptions R12 had recounted earlier. It was also suggested that in R13's HEI, there was a desire to preserve the Whiteness of the academy and exclude Black staff from gaining positions of influence (Capper 2015).

Examining R13's comments further, it seems that R13 had observed that there are hidden messages within the suggestion that she is not coping with her work, which re-introduces the dog-whistle concept. This message is intended for only her to hear, ensuring it is inaudible and easily denied yet stimulating a robust reaction from R13 (Haney López 2014). This new form of racism sits well within the neo-liberal policies of HEIs, allowing HR and senior managers to strongly condemn those who use racial expletives yet tolerating a steady drip of covert colour coded-solidarity for the status quo to remain unchanged (Haney López 2014). R13 continued:

She [Black colleague] says, “you have a reputation on the campus.” She said, “your [White] colleagues...are saying very bad things about you; saying that you swan off and do your PhD and don't do your day

job and that you are lazy and you aren't doing the work that you should be doing." I was really, really upset about that because it's not true at all. (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

Not satisfied with simply questioning why she needed a PhD, inferences are made by White colleagues that studying for a PhD is getting in the way of R13's expected daily performance. This suggestion could have been made to reinforce the thought that complex work and academic research is really the preserve of others (i.e. White staff) in the academy, who unlike R13, are considered able to manage both.

R13 recounted the revelation made to her by a professor in her department to seemingly remove any thoughts she may have had that race was not pervasive in the academy.

I went to see a professor and he's from a White Irish background and I told him my issues...he said to me..."you do realise why this is going on don't you?".... I said no... "He said well I'm going to be blunt and I'm going to tell you. The main reason why you are struggling with this, you are a Black woman". He said, "You are Black, you are a woman but you are also Black African and historically nursing has been obviously staffed in some areas by Black people". And he said, "They are alright with you R13 as long as you are on the shop floor wiping people's bottoms. You are alright to get up to matron or sister but as soon as you leave that sphere and you come into education...that doesn't fit in with the academic ideas about where Black people should be". And I was absolutely gobsmacked by that, he said, "I'm going to tell you this so you know what you're dealing with". (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

The issues being discussed were around others' perceptions of R13 as highlighted previously in her seeking higher qualifications as well as her reputation on campus. These areas are associated with property rights

which it seems should not be available to her. Delgado and Stefancic (2012:27) note, that if racism is deeply embedded, then the ordinary business in the organisation will continue to subordinate minorities.

Therefore, it could be argued that the professor placed an emphasis on R13 being a “Black woman”, being “Black” and being “Black African” and maintained that this is what she needed to realise above all as a way of realising how racism in the academy operates. The suggestion is made that her ethnicity and place in the organisation must be understood and that she would always be seen as not belonging at that level but important to work that is more menial. This professor seemed supportive and may even be giving the impression that he understood the experiences of R13. It may even be assumed that the professor coming from an Irish background might also have experienced discrimination in the academy; however, this information was not revealed.

The data suggests that it was not only White staff who questioned the qualifications of Black staff or their academic aspirations. Some of the participants found that there were negative reactions from some students who seemed to believe that a Black woman in the classroom needed to be questioned about her qualifications. It appears that the students had formulated a perception of racial intelligence, if not academic inferiority which is more associated with Black staff. Despite these perceptions, the ECU research report (2015) revealed that Black academics were likely to be better qualified than their White colleagues. A few of the participants summed up these challenges:

I know that there's this historical perception of how qualified you are as a Black woman...trainees will be like, “what's your background then? What makes you qualified to speak to us?” A post-graduate asked me that in my very first lecture. (R4, 9 years; Education)



If you are a Black woman lecturing, you have got to tread carefully, especially with students. I had a student who said to me last week, “with all due respect, what you just taught me?... I can run a session on it easily any day.”... This is an Egyptian guy, who if you understand their culture, women don’t mean that much, women don’t say much. (R7, 13 years; Business)

In the second excerpt there seems to be not just a focus on racial intelligence and oppression as suggested by R7 but a statement also underpinned with apparent gender and cultural bias from another minority ethnic group in her HEI. Consequently, the issues of being ‘just a Black woman’ in the academy becomes compounded with additional cultural biases but apparently from a group who perceived themselves to be in a more superior position to the Black female academic. Such suggestions have the potential to undermine confidence and perhaps could even have a psychological impact on the participants.

However, one participant cautioned about using race as the only reason why Black academics had not progressed more:

Some White colleagues may well see you as someone who has the capacity, having abilities, the competence, the drive to do well but if you don't know how to play the politics to make sure those skills are being used, then you end up getting frustrated yourself because the others can see it and you're not seeing for yourself how you can use the politics. (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R12 seems to make the determination that in order to combat what is going on it is necessary to manoeuvre in such a way to meet your own ends and to ensure survival in the academy. It then becomes seemingly important for some of these participants to prove themselves as belonging in this environment as well as proving themselves before students and colleagues.

Returning to R13's experience stated in the previous section and her reflections upon her professor's revelation, she orated about her place in the academy:

I was absolutely livid. I was angry, I was so upset but then I started to understand historical perspectives on where some of these ideas came from...all these ideas they were all brewing in academic institutions so if you've got this idea of White supremacy in terms of academia, being fostered for hundreds and hundreds of years, those of us who are coming in at a later generation and getting doctorates and ending up in this pool of academics... to bring in the Black woman's perspective to certain research which is not being brought in before and that's going to change thinking and it's going to shatter this image of it's only White people who come up with new ideas... We are here. It doesn't necessarily mean that we are [in] any way inferior to what you are doing and...I'm not here to challenge your place in society. (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

In now ostensibly understanding why and how racism is perpetuated and kept alive in the academy, R13 apparently became more reflective about the perceived threat of Black academic thinking to the Whiteness of the academy. She seems to make it clear that there was a need for better equality without the White majority fearing displacement within the academy whilst simultaneously countering its elitist and property expectations (Harris 1993).

Possessing the ability to have high-level thoughts and emergent ideas could be perceived as an unwelcome change in the expectations of where Black academics should be seen and positioned. In changing thinking and creating a different perspective, R13 seems to suggest that by coming up with new ideas and speaking back to the offenders, may begin to undo

meanings that others attach to the same words, and their existing experiences, referred to as empathic fallacies (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Her being able to change their narrative by offering a real and better-informed counter-narrative may prove to be challenging to White others.

The next section explores the experiences and thoughts of some participants that racism was not pervasive in the academy.

#### *4.2.3 Racism is not perceived as endemic*

Interestingly in this study, I found that some of the participants had contradicted themselves, declaring themselves as disbelievers of the existence of racism in the academy, yet telling stories of their experiences which give credence to racism being endemic. For example, R12 commented on the lowly position and progression of Black women in the academy and likened it to the 'Guinness effect' as discussed previously, yet did not believe there was racial discrimination in the academy. R8 is frustrated with her employment status that appears to be permanently part-time, yet felt there was no racism evidenced in the academy. Her experience is discussed later in this section. Such admissions by some of the women that racism is not embedded, may be their way of surviving the academy and through their accounts of their experiences I have in fact heard issues to do with their being Black women which appeared to be: buried, ignored or even overlooked.

A few of the participants stated that my asking questions about race really made them think about the type of racial experiences they have had. A possible explanation for this might be that questions about race in the academy had not been asked of them before and so they had never

contemplated their experiences. One participant reflected on this question and race in the academy:

I'm trying to think way back, I'm really trying to think. Honestly, unless I've been totally blind by it, I can't say that I've felt that my race has got in the way of what I want to do...unless I am blind, I can't say it was overtly in my face that might have been the reason...When I think of posts that I have gone for, I've got. Things that I didn't get such as teaching fellowship which was a bit of a shock at the time, but I then got a workplace fellowship. I'm trying to think, I must be naive. (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

This struggle for R12, revealed the complexity of trying to explore the subject of race as an issue. R12 grappled with pondering this issue. In interpreting the participants' comments this task was magnified for me, as there was sometime uncertainty on my part in determining what was really being said by the participants. This view is supported by Ladson-Billings (1998:9) as she determines "notions of race...are so complex that even when it fails to make sense, we continue to employ and deploy it".

This participant with twenty-two years in the academy suggested that she may have been blind to racism or even taking a colour-blind approach and not necessarily cognisant of racial issues which may have existed at a sub-conscious level. In this instance, R12 was surprised at not being awarded a teaching fellowship but did not discuss why this was the case which could have been the result of other factors apart from race. However, in the previous section, R12 spoke about the 'Guinness effect' being quite evident in the academy, as well as having to engage in politics because of her race. It appears that there are degrees of contradiction present in R12's views.

For some participants, racism was apparent and overt, for others not as obvious if at all present. R12 reflected the views of a few other participants

for whom it would appear had a sense of disbelief about the existence of racism in the academy or their not believing it to be pervasive. For example:

I've never felt I've been ostracised or been put upon because I'm a female or because I'm Black. (R16, 23 years, Law)

This participant had been in the academy longer than the other participants have. It could be that in her academic role she was considered more equitably because she was already another member of an established profession. However, it was not discussed whether she had experienced any form of discrimination in her previous job. It was interesting that she identified herself in her response, first as a female and then mentions her race. This prioritising of her gender implied that she did not perceive race to be as significant as her gender.

Her admission could be considered as an acknowledgement or not of racial realism (Brown and Jackson 2013), where on the one hand some of the participants believed that racism was real and endemic in their academic world and as a result, had much to report (high racial realism). A few others by contrast, believed racism was not purposefully intended or perpetuated or indeed really evident and displayed what Brown and Jackson (2013) call low levels of racial realism.

The integral nature of racism is evidenced as overlapping with the property tenet (CRT tenet two) on being outsiders in the academy. The essence of this second theoretical tenet is that Whiteness is an exclusive property that only White people can possess naturally, as with it come privileges and status (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). R7 remarked:

So far I haven't experienced race being a problem here. I think with the students that once they know you are a Black lecturer and you are a woman, they tend to relax a bit with you, like, what can she do?

She's a Black woman, she's a woman. If I say, can you leave my class? Maybe they are disturbing the class. They just look at you, like, do you really think I'll listen to you? and I might have to invite the security to get them out at that point. (R7, 13 years; Business)

R7 declared that she had not experienced racism in this setting. However, in placing an emphasis initially on being a "Black lecturer" then "a woman" and later on being a "Black woman", then "a woman" as she faces issues in the classroom, there seemed to be some confusion in how she really sees herself, and what informed her experiences as a lecturer.

In claiming not to have experienced race in her thirteen years the first factor she identified with was her colour and then her gender in imagining what the students must be thinking. It seems that she included her gender as a possible part of the reason. This is an instance of gender informing the problematic of race and intersecting it, in forming her reality. Such "double-consciousness" may result in a sense of a divided-self in being a woman but also being Black and therefore having double insight (Du Bois 1903, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995:50).

However, having this insight appeared to create greater uncertainty for R7 as she was unsure whether the issues were to do with her ethnicity or her gender or perhaps something else which had not been stated. This was unclear. It could be that students did not see her as having a legitimate reason to be in the academy. So, even though she claimed there were no incidences where her race had been an issue, the illustrated student behaviour could imply differently and her unwillingness to accept this could indicate her own denial and self-perpetuation of race not being an issue in the academy.

R8 also commented that race had never been an issue and that once you started to attach race to everything, race in itself becomes problematic.

This deflection reflected a colour-blind approach to race replicating the neo-liberal ideals of the academy:

I've not seen everything in that light, in black and white. It's never been an issue with me because I think it's limiting. Once you start viewing issues in that sort of light and that it's because I'm Black or I'm a woman. No. I know nothing is based on merit from my experience. It's a matter of who you know. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

She later remarked:

...It's not for want of trying to get a full time position [0.7 FTE across two faculties] for myself, it just happened that, my face didn't fit or I didn't know the right set of people. These same people on the panel to interview me would come round later on to say, you can be a module leader...I'm good enough to assume responsibilities but not good enough to have a permanent position with the school. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

These are two separate excerpts from R8 who had refused to initially accept that the academy could be anything less than race or even gender neutral as suggested by their neo-liberalist policies. Underpinning both statements she concluded that it was down to who you knew that allowed status, position and entry in the academy. Her saying, seeing things in black and white proved “limiting” as well as suggesting that “her face did not fit”, raises questions to do with her sense of racial realism. Even after sixteen years in the academy, she was not positioned where she had hoped to be as a full-time staff member. This finding is also reflected in evidence from the ECU (2015) which revealed that BME academics were more likely to have part-time contracts. R8 was outwardly good enough to do the operational tasks on a part-time basis but not to be given a full-time employment contract. So, although R8 was never successful in a

contractual way, it seems that she provided other reasons why her ethnicity was not or could not be behind the choices being made.

In R8's second extract, there seemed to be frustration demonstrated in never quite making that grade. This latter statement seeming to imply that she had accepted that it was about understanding the politics of the situation and transcending those pre-set limits, which she had still not managed to achieve. This failure of obtaining that position appears to be a manifestation of the HEI's panel perceived property right of denying her this privilege (CRT tenet two). Both statements depicted what I would view as R8's strong belief in the fairness of the academy on one hand and her misunderstanding of the White majority's power over awarding academic positions, on the other. In this instance, she demonstrated low-racial realism.

Additionally, R8's experience seemed to be influenced by the interest convergence tenet, which in this situation there was an inference of pseudo-consolation in being told she could continue to be a module leader, which appeared to be a consolation prize, but nothing more.

In attempting to understand the participants' experiences and the neo-liberalist view of an alleged meritocratic, race and gender neutral academy, a variety of positions can be established. For example their experiences are different because of their ethnicity and their gender in relation to the distribution of positional and student power in the academy, the equity and diversity fallacy being promoted in the academy and their interpretation and belief in the academic systems and processes (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

The next section explores the new managerialism environment of the academy, examining the effect of its neo-liberal policies, process changes and the consequent pressures affecting their academic lives and roles.



#### *4.2.4 The academic environment*

##### *Diversity challenge and work environment changes*

It would seem that there have been limited changes made to furthering diversity and promoting equality issues within post-1992 HEIs, despite there being a greater concentration of minority ethnic academics and the increasing diversity of the student population within many post-1992 HEIs (Chesler et al 2005; HESA 2015b; ECU 2015b). Many HEIs ostensibly, remain resistant to actual equality and diversity change with the reality of diversity plans quickly forgotten as the drive for efficiencies become more important (Collins 2004; Williams 2006; ECU 2009, 2015; Bhopal 2016). The lack of willingness to drive through more permanent policy and behavioural changes in areas such as diversity and equity within the academy, does not reflect the neo-liberalism they claim to espouse (CRT tenet five) and further perpetuates increased homogeneity as its intended agenda (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

According to Conklin and Robbins-McNeish (2006), wealthy, White men created HEIs and their culture has prevailed. However, over time some of the HEIs, in particular the newer universities have become gradually more diverse to include people outside of this culture. Nevertheless, many of the participants fail to see evidence of this diversity. R16 described her view:

As an institution if you look at the higher echelons it's increasingly male, White, middle aged, grey haired people so the issues of diversity become more apparent. (R16, 23 years, Law)

R16's description highlighted gender, colour and age as key features of the academy, at senior levels. It appeared that she noticed the exclusivity of academic membership at the higher levels and little change being made. However, based on her previous statement of never feeling as if she has been excluded, it is surprising that she raised issues of diversity in

this way. After twenty-three years in the academy she appeared to have hit a ceiling of some kind.

This illustration could be perceived as the typical Black woman's position in the academy as one that never has the same levels of ascendancy as that of White colleagues, reflective again of property rights in the academy, where the expectation is that the academy remains the preserve of White males. This lack of diversity in ascendancy is observed yet again later in this chapter under the tenets of property (section 4.3) and intersectionality (section 4.5) where the absence of Black women in senior jobs is noted.

Another participant also commented on the apparent Whitening of the academy, again contradicting their HEI's espoused image of being diverse institutions:

I've seen loads of colleagues who are Black women...who are also having problems at work...there is a lot of conflict...because you are coming here with the baggage of feeling that you are being discriminated against...I have some questions about Black women leaving the sector and what is happening ...across the universities there is almost Whitening of the sector. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

This is interpreted to mean that discrimination is rife in the academy leading to turmoil, conflict and flight (ECU 2015a; Race at work report 2015). However, this participant did not make it clear what kind of discrimination was being experienced but alluded to Black women, which suggested issues of race or gender. R11 implied that she was already burdened with discrimination and seemingly, the situation at work served to compound these feelings further.

This situation of the academy being mostly White, mostly male, and rarely open to critical gaze, continues to oppress Black female academics (Back

2004; Mirza 2006b; ECU 2009; Arya 2012). This becomes more apparent when for example, senior staff such as White professors have had very limited experience of interacting with Black women as colleagues or superiors (Chesler et al 2005; Conklin and Robbins-McNeish 2006; ECU 2015a; *THE* Report 2015). Such limited experiences may result in creating an environment where subtle biases or marginalisation occurs because of this lack of exposure. For many HEIs that are still operating with an elitist mentality, “Whiteness becomes an exclusive club whose membership was closely and grudgingly guarded” (Harris 1993:1736).

### *Environment changes*

Many of the participants discussed other changes they experienced under new managerialism in similar ways, for example with work-intensification and allocation and their relationship with students as customers. However, in excavating beneath these issues it is apparent that there are other concerns emerging because of their race. A few of the participants in describing their academic environment indicated some of the challenges faced by them as Black women.

...some of the experiences I was experiencing as a Black woman are now being felt by others...because of the changes within the sector...it actually gets worse for Black women in terms of how we are being treated...I’ve been ill-treated and the expectations that have been put on me...are quite enormous ...if I was somebody of a different ethnicity, would it have been different? It makes me wonder.  
(R11, 19 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R11 initially made clear reference to both her ethnicity and gender and later re-emphasises her ethnicity. It would appear that she suggested that as the new managerialism changes took hold, it actually exacerbated the situation for Black women and implied that her ethnicity may be behind how she was treated. It is not clear who was included in her reference to

“others” and she may well be talking about other Black or even White colleagues. However, R11 was a victim of blatant racism (discussed earlier), where images of a monkey were used, and as a result may be more mindful and sensitive to the covert machinations within the academy.

R11 continued, emphasising that it was almost inexplicable that she was not now the only one under scrutiny as everyone was affected by these changes:

In a bizarre way you almost feel as if you are also taking the spotlight off me as a Black woman because this [change] is affecting everybody now across the sector, across the department. It's a bit like when... they say you know, when it rains everybody gets wet.  
(R11, 19 years; Health and Social Sciences)

These changes suggest that the playing field was being levelled evenly as more academics in HEIs are now feeling similar hardships as these participants, despite it becoming even worse for Black women. This comment also implied that academic staff were victims of these changes with some being impacted more than others.

Another participant also discussed the changes in terms of challenges being faced as a Black woman:

When you talk about change for a Black woman, it's very tricky because I see it in terms of the challenges I've been facing and the challenges have over-shadowed the changes...the challenges have happened so often that you even forget about the fact that things are ever changing. (R3, 17 years; Business)

For this participant, the previous statement made about “ceaseless motion” and a “changing same” (Gilroy 1993, cited in Warmington 2012:7) resonates. She made it clear that her journey through the challenges of for example, being wrongly accused by students and being under constant

scrutiny, have been much greater than the frequency of Institutional changes and demands, such as increased levels of administrative work; performance monitoring and student satisfaction surveys, so much so, that change becomes unnoticed and in that sense, remains the same. In identifying and exploring some of her challenges, R3 raised three areas of importance to her. The first she discussed in terms of continuously having to over-prove her performance because of her colour:

If other people are putting in 100% effort, I put in 200% effort...to avoid creating any loopholes for the Whites...they are looking for the least thing about this unit and they blow it out of proportion whereas you have your White colleagues with a bigger problem that has been so glaringly obvious and they overlook it...Because I am Black...you have to be extremely cautious. (R3, 17 years; Business)

In over-proving her performance R3 advised that caution must be taken because she was Black and her efforts were always under scrutiny. This statement infers that the “Whites” made it more difficult for her to fulfil the membership criteria of the academy, as the rules for her were always different and evolving.

It would seem that this pressure then placed some of the participants in positions where over-proving performance was necessary in establishing early credibility in their academic roles. Having to justify themselves became their new normal. It has been suggested that BME staff often feel their work is over scrutinised and their ability doubted, resulting in their having to prove themselves in ways that non-BME staff do not (Wright et al 2007; Johnson 2008).

For R15, she felt she had to be strategic in her actions to ensure that her reputation for hard work and outcomes was evident as a means of remaining in the academy.

White members of staff could afford to miss a couple of things out of their tasks but we know what it's like and that over compensation. You have to...make sure you leave no stone unturned, it's a defensive strategy. That's why you would stay until nine o'clock or ten o'clock go home and do work to keep up so you leave the reputation that she's a grafter, she gets results, etc. to keep your job. (R15, 15 years, Business)

R3 discussed being set up to fail, as another of her challenges:

...course management for instance... they will give you...to make it look like, they are giving equal opportunity... but, you know that you are being put there as a Black...really a token Black...because they want it to look like they are fair. But you know very well they are just looking for the least thing, you know to really humiliate you, demoralise you so that you make more mistakes and the more mistakes you make...It's self-perpetuating...finally they will say, "that one? she is no good...she doesn't do anything." When any opportunity comes up, they say, "no, no, no, no remember the problems we had with this one?" (R3, 17 years; Business)

The tenet of interest convergence can be highlighted in this instance, where as part of the HEI's neo-liberalist policy inclusion and opportunity for all is promoted. However, R13 appeared to see this instead as a token gesture underpinned with expectations of failure to further prove that she was not suitable for this kind of work. R3 mentioned being "humiliated" and "demoralised" which could indicate that she was being worn down as well as worn out.

R15 who commented earlier on working long hours, observed her own weariness:

They've kept me down, "stay there, stay there" and I realise I'm fighting to come up. "What you doing? Stay there." And that's what they have been doing to me, all of them. Stay down...I had that fight in me and...I begin to know who I am. (R15, 15 years, Business)

Both these participants (R3 and R15) talked about a sense of oppression and being held down. Seemingly their failures became more magnified and for R15 in claiming to "begin to know who I am", suggested that she intended to do battle to remain in her place in the academy. A few others also commented on the colour of failure:

I think sometimes if it goes wrong, it highlights your under performance but it also highlights your colour as well because they colour code the bad things. If a White colleague had done it, would it have mattered as much? I don't think so. If you fail as a Black person, I think it's made more of a big deal. (R10, 16 years, Business)

This comment of colour coding the bad things seemed to imply that R10 would be easily remembered if issues needed to be escalated. Being Black, it appeared, was something associated with poor performance as well as negative assumptions being made about their abilities, which they felt were influenced by their ethnicity (Wright et al 2007; Johnson 2008). This could constitute a conspiracy of silence about race and ethnicity for Black women in the academy, even though they were qualified to be there. Many of these participants are PhD holders and I would expect given the meritocratic expectations of the academy that race should not be the factor determining capability and performance. However, White colleagues apparently often use race when expectations are not met and explanations are needed. This suggested that even though measures of academic

intelligence and performance were important in defining work capability there was a tendency to overlook ability, if race could be covertly identified as a causal factor of under or poor performance.

A few of the other participants reported on their battle with the Whiteness of the academy in similar ways to R3 in having to over-prove their work and over-perform as doing the same amount of work to the same standard as their White colleagues was seemingly never seen as good enough. R3 further discussed a third challenge made to her professionalism:

In the exam board...they need all the grades. You [exam board chair] question me about why haven't the students submitted. I say, I am only the lecturer, the students have that responsibility to submit their work. I only mark what I see. Then you look at your White counterparts, they have very, serious problems...like not even getting their grades in on time. On the day of the exam board...some of them are still marking. Nobody questions them.  
(R3, 17 years; Business)

R3 seemed to feel that she was being singled out for unfair and unjust attention and being asked for answers that were impossible for her to give. It is apparent that her White colleagues by contrast, appeared to be overlooked despite their not meeting important deadlines. Students also appeared to participate in perpetuating this permanency of racism:

You should see their [students] faces...they are all whispering, "who is she? is she the lecturer? No, I think she is the student, oh, she cannot be." And then you have those students who are looking at you like, "what's the Black woman standing here trying to tell me?" Those are the ones who come with challenges. Each lecture they are preparing a challenge for you. (R3, 17 years; Business)



It would seem from the second quote, that R3 was imagining what the students must be saying, depicted through their whisperings and perhaps even their body language. This was similar to the earlier experiences of R7 with her students' whispering. Both participants appeared to demonstrate more heightened sensitivity to their surroundings because of their ethnicity. These participants however, seemed to be victims of stereotyping, being subject to token considerations and were seen as trespassing in privileged space, not just by their colleagues but also by students.

In discussing these challenges, it is clear that the challenges appear to be permanent and frequent to some of the participants. Consequently, the changes in HEIs do not affect them as much as the daily challenges they were facing as Black women. Both R3 and R7 have had almost similar years in the academy, in similar faculties but in different universities yet were experiencing an upsurge in changes (work-intensity, student behaviour and expectations, performance monitoring) in relation to ethnicity in almost the same way.

The next section explores the role of the manager through the discontinuities of new managerialism.

### *4.2.5 The role of the manager under new managerialism*

The impact of new managerialism upon managers and their role was seldom discussed explicitly by any of the participants. Their focus remained on their experiences as Black women in the academy, with issues about their race and gender integrated within the academy's pursuit of, for example, cost efficiencies and student satisfaction. However, in exploring and analysing the data captured, it became evident that the evolving role of the manager at different levels, was increasingly implicit in their experiences. Vice chancellors (VCs), deans and heads of

departments, were adding to their frustration and voicelessness in the academy, whilst simultaneously restricting their professional and academic freedoms. This was particularly true for R8 and R15, and consequently their voices are heard more than the other participants in this section.

### *Senior Management: Vice Chancellors*

The literature around new managerialism does not consider nor really discuss VCs as managers in the academy. However, the VC's views on for example, satisfying students as customers, is cascaded swiftly down the management hierarchy, impacting on the role of faculty deans and heads of department charged with executing relevant and rapid solutions and action (Barry et al 2001; Deem and Brehony 2005; Graham 2015). As a result, the role of the dean and the head of department has become less strategic and more operational than ever before, in satisfying emergent and dynamic business issues, in recognition of the new academic continuities (Dixit and Bhowmick 2011; ABS 2014).

A few of the participants described their perceptions of their vice chancellor (VC) in the academy:

They [senior managers] come in for five years and then they leave. When he [vice chancellor] gave a speech to students that they [students] should never be in a career for more than five years, we knew what he was up to. He created all this damage and then left to create havoc somewhere else... destroying the ethos, the academic integrity, the academic freedom... (R15, 15 years; Business)

Leadership has changed ... and it's been quite destructive. About the time we are settling down to a new VC, it's time to move on [VC leaves] and then we are back to square one again. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

Both these participants appeared to have noticed the short-term approach to HEIs being employed by the VCs in their institutions, which according to R8, promoted regression in her HEI. This turnover of senior staff may prevent new HEI cultures, processes and policies from being further considered, developed and embedded, thus having an impact on the creation of long term and sustainable strategies in areas such as EDI. However, a term of five years may be viewed as a fair amount of time for VCs to make changes and assess the impact on their HEI.

Both participants mentioned the ‘destructive’ nature of their VC’s actions. R8 simply made reference to the damage caused without being more specific and R15 explicitly stated the impact on the academics in her HEI, which included the destruction of “integrity” and “freedom” as academic professionals, and the obliteration of her HEI’s culture. These VCs appeared to be culpable of “creative destruction” (ABS 2014:4) of the well-being of their HEIs. The leadership and academic changes identified by R15 and R8 may also be reflective of “campus tsunami”, which ABS (2014:4) has described as happening in UK universities.

Another participant recognised the importance of the HEI rankings to her VC:

All they [senior management] are interested in is our ratings and our rankings ... the powers that be, are skipping to the tune of we want our rankings, we want to work up the rankings. (R5, 11 Years; Business and Economics)

Key to the rankings and ratings in HEIs, is the level of satisfaction expressed via the annual National Student Surveys (see footnote 7 on page 30), which could promote or demote the HEI in any of a number of league tables (Wood 2007; Winter 2009). However, this top-down focus on the student as a customer to be satisfied, has forced the layers of middle

and lower managers and in turn the academic, to respond in a way that ensured the student's approval and a veneration of their needs (Driscoll and Wicks 1998, cited in Wood 2007). Promulgating and sustaining high levels of satisfaction, means more work for academics but may also be translated into a higher HEI ranking, a means by which the employability of the VC may be ensured when they leave their HEI. This focus on ratings and rankings may be more desirable and seen as a more marketable aspect of performance for the VC, than a longer term focus on other issues such as racial inequalities. It would appear that VCs are using new managerialism as a vehicle to secure their own future careers (Winter 2009).

As HEIs continue to change under new managerialism, the discontinuities in the academic environment give rise to increased pressures being experienced by academics. Some of the participants observed the justifications made by senior managers for these extrapolations:

They [management] started rationalising everything and the business case was that we could no longer afford to go on. The vice chancellor came in with his honchos, and they raised the: 'cash is king' [places fingers in quotations] motto. We sat in meetings to hear 'cash is king' and how we are performing: 'this is where the cash is; this is what's not happening; we are going to be bankrupt'; - that threatening, blaming culture, where people were blaming each other; departments were blaming each other; people were at each other's throats, and so on. (R15, 15 years; Business)

It appeared that the reduction in student income (even though predictable) and the pressure to find more money, has resulted in an environment perceived as "threatening, blaming", and consequently, no-one appeared to take responsibility for the current situation. Instead, staff blamed each

other and “were at each other’s throats”. This behaviour is expected within a discontinuous environment, where managers are inexperienced and lack the right skills. Accordingly, uncertainty and hostility can be experienced, as managers are driven to seek new strategies for change (Mintzberg 1984; Ansoff 1997).

Another participant reflected similarly, but also highlighted her sense of powerlessness, as she believed academics “sleepwalked” into what appeared to be an autocracy.

... the tension is so great we are fighting amongst ourselves because that outlet of challenging ... is not there. We cannot galvanise and come together to challenge the hierarchy... Nobody has told me of any discussion that they have had... there has been absolutely no consultation, no discussion, you are just expected to do what you have been told. That is not the role of an academic, you are supposed to be questioning, challenging. We are sleepwalking into this changing world and nobody is questioning that at all. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

R11 appeared to suggest that staff were mesmerised in a trance under new managerialism and subsequently, they did not question the changed environment or their experiences. This observation of “sleepwalking”, is captured by a number of authors who have determined that, academics have engaged in the practices and behaviour expected of new managerialism, without necessarily subscribing to the ideology (Williams et al 2012); and that academics may have been seduced by the rhetoric of efficiency and accountability making them willing participants to new managerialism (Brown et al 2003). However, rather than actively embracing new managerialism, it could be that academics simply know no other way (Kolsaker 2008). R11 with nineteen years in the academy,

apparently knew a time before new managerialism manifestations, in contrast to newer academic members, who may not have been aware of other ways of being, in the academy.

### *Senior/Middle managers: Deans and Head of Departments*

The role of senior management seemed to be intent on removing academic freedom as mentioned at the start of this section. By curtailing independent and critical thought (Archer 2008; Whitchurch and Gordon 2010; Fanghanel 2012; Alvesson and Spicer 2016), as R11 indicated, academics are “expected to do what you have been told”, instead of “questioning, challenging”. This points to: stifling an “independent moral voice” (Freidson 2001:197) and the loss of freedom, through gnawing away at academic professional autonomy and control (White et al 2011; Lorenz 2012).

It appeared that a new class of manager had been created in the academy. Managers that appeared to be elevated above the level of the academic and perceived themselves as being more important in that role. This new manager was capable of silencing the voices of academics (Freidson 2001) who used to be professionally more respected and valued in the academy (Watson 2009; Whitchurch and Gordon 2010). This approach to managing professional academics appeared to be a return to the ideas of scientific management. A scientific management approach, expected managers to have detailed control of work processes and in the context of HEIs, academics were simply factors necessary to maximise production (Kolsaker 2008; Alvesson and Spicer 2016). This approach is also reflected in the McUniversity model, proposed by Parker and Jary (1995).

The findings suggest that the human relations side of management appeared to be less relevant in the pursuit of efficiencies in the academy,

therefore the removal of the critical voice of the academic seemed justified to managers. With this top down distribution of power, collegiality became a zero sum game as authority was maintained and used by only those in higher positions (Marini and Reale 2015). There appeared to be insentience around what was happening, with blame and tension resulting in greater in-fighting, as argued by R15 and R11 above, rather than collective solidarity against the system (Alvesson and Spicer 2016).

At the faculty level, the use of positional power was evidenced by R8 who perceived her dean as the Mafia:

We've had deans who we used to call the Mafia, to be seen and not heard. You cannot walk past them in the corridor and say hello, they would not acknowledge you. We call them the Mafia. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

R8's re-naming the dean, "the Mafia", conjures up images of the Godfather and hit squads, trafficking fear and intimidation to the academics. The methods of intimidation used by the Mafia included the oath of omertà<sup>29</sup>, used to silence those who said too much and perhaps justifying what R8 had said earlier, in not being able to voice an opinion. R8 appeared to recognise that engagement would be futile, and in likening deans to the Mafia, may have experienced both fear and intimidation.

This autocratic management style, with power vested in the few, was also noticed by a few other participants:

There is too much power in too few people at senior level which has a significant impact on what I do at my level. There is no route for

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<sup>29</sup> Omertà, from the Italian word for 'humility', is a code of honour among the Mafia that places importance on (conspiracy of) silence, non-cooperation with authorities, and non-interference in the illegal actions of others. Sources: <http://www.collinsenglishdictionary.co.uk/2014> and <http://www.urbandictionary.com>, both accessed 17<sup>th</sup> February 2017).

conversation or discussion or consultation on what is decided and yet we are meant to somehow progress with the work that we have been asked to do, without good leadership. (R12, 22 years; Health and Social sciences)

We had these fake consultation meetings asking us what we thought but they had already made up their mind what they thought... that was a frustrating thing without consultation, without asking you what you think and could have a say in. (R15, 15 years; Business)

With limited if any consultations, apparently extracting information via pseudo-involvement and impositions via direct or indirect communications by managers, have seemingly led to what the participants perceived to be a loss of freedom and in some instances frustration (Lorenz 2012; Graham 2015). This, for a second time appears to be symptomatic of the return to scientific management and deprofessionalisation (Kolsaker 2008). Voicelessness is once more raised, as senior managers seem to remain unchallenged and academics left with feelings of infantilisation as suggested by R3, who said:

The [HE] environment is prescriptive ... you are not given the opportunity to think for yourself, come up with your own ideas, to implement your own ideas... I feel that we are in ... primary/secondary school. (R3, 17 years; Business)

This use of performative systems (Kolsaker 2008) and positional power, appeared to confirm manager privilege and perhaps gives rise to discrimination being furthered as managers chose not to listen (where staff were brave enough to speak), champion, or be heroic, when told about changes. R16 commented:



You just get told things and for fear of losing your job, you are not even allowed to voice your opinion on things; it's an unwritten rule that your card will be marked. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

Participants appeared to see micro-management as a means of stifling their academic freedoms through reduced autonomy, which created a sense of power inequalities. Participants seemed to be aware that their power was being lost as they became more subjugated in the academy. This approach to managing suggested a tension in the work relationship, where on the one hand, R8 said, staff were not “allowed to voice” their opinion, and on the other, she suggested there was an “unwritten rule”, that staff would lose their job if they spoke out or questioned. It was not clear where this “unwritten rule” had emerged from (senior management or line managers?), and may have been management’s way of ensuring that there was compliance and control within the work relationship as expected under a continuity of control.

It would appear that many of these participants did not hold positions that warranted having a voice or being seen, rendering them more powerless than academic others that White managers may have better identified with. It also seemed that these Black women academics needed authority to raise their voices and to be heard, to be listened to and to have made a difference.

### *Conscious Competence or Skilled Incompetence?*

The focus on efficiencies and the maximisation of available labour and productivity levels has resulted in an additional role for managers, who see it as their job to assert their rights to manage the workforce through detailed control of their work processes (Randle and Brady 1997; Brown

2003; Kolthoff et al 2007; Kolsaker 2008). In order to manage the increasing range of management activities under new managerialism, much has been devolved below the level of dean to heads of department and front line academics), despite there being little, if any evidence of skills, knowledge and experiences of discontinuous change (ABS 2014). For example, although cost efficiencies were being pursued, there was evidence of continuous financial waste and mis-management, through poor decision-making processes, leading to costly outcomes. R8 best encapsulated this:

The dean was told that we need someone in the area of strategy. The dean recruited somebody in the area of operations and so when he [lecturer] was told to take on [teach] strategy, he couldn't do it, because it's not his area. So invariably, that person was asked to leave, creating the vacancy that we had in the first instance, so we are back to square one. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

Even though it was made clear where the deficiency in the department lay, it appeared that the dean felt that two areas of shortage could be accommodated with one person, therefore saving money. However, the new academic was not willing to undertake an area outside his own discipline and left, which meant recruitment costs and time had been sacrificed with no lasting outcome, to the detriment of the dean and the department. This example has reinforced the perception of skills deficiencies present in managers as they work through the discontinuities in the academy. Many first line managers suffered role conflict and were unsupported as they attempted to balance competing demands as managers, researchers and even lecturers, creating work overload and tensions between their management and academic roles (ABS 2014).

Senior management in HEIs were often seen as incompetent and contemptuous of their own staff (*THE Workplace Survey 2015*). A few of the participants highlighted inadequacies in the leadership capabilities of their managers as well as the absence of the range of skills necessary to cope with continuous change:

Within months of that person [the dean] starting, it was disastrous because this person didn't know how to manage, didn't know how to lead, and caused a tremendous amount of disruption, which led to a number of other problems. This person doesn't have a research background, so how are they going to build our portfolio? In fact this person has never managed staff in higher education at all, so how are we going to get any leadership? (R12, 22 years; Health and Social sciences)

The dean hasn't got control of admin... students, ...academics...she's there sliding and dodging. (R9, 15 years; Business)

Both participants are clear that there were a number of deficiencies present in their managers. R12 has not stated the other problems caused explicitly, however it might be inferred, since she said, "this person has never managed staff in higher education before", that they were issues to do with developing and leading the team in the faculty. R9 commented on the lack of control in key academic areas such as, "admin, students, academics", with her dean using what appeared to be avoidance tactics to hide her management incompetence or inability in the changing academy (Ansoff 1997; Dixit and Bhowmick 2011; ABS 2014).

R8 in needing more academic support, appeared to support her line manager's efforts and understood his frustrations:

My line manager is aware that I've been overworked and he is trying as much as possible to make me see that he's on my side, trying to take some responsibilities off me. He is lacking in resources to take care of all this stuff. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

R8 has emphasised just how much her manager is trying, but seemingly to no avail. Returning to the scientific management approach, this manager's job would be to ensure that R8 reached maximum efficiency in undertaking her work. R8, in turn offered reasons to excuse her managers failed attempts and may indeed have been mistaken in assuming her manager was actually endeavouring to reduce her workload. It appeared that R8 had believed in her manager's efforts and may have been willingly complicit in the hope of a reduction in her workload (Alvesson and Spicer 2016).

New managerialism changes had been described as too deep and too fast, creating discontinuities and placing managers in positions which require skills that they do not possess, leading to poor workforce management (Ansoff 1997; Randle and Brady 1997; Dixit and Bhowmick 2011). The response of inadequately skilled managers struggling to get a grip on the changes, may be to micro-manage their way through using micro-politics, habitually and unwittingly to guide their decisions and to build their reputations (ABS 2014; Leadership Foundation Report 2015). R15 described how her dean deployed this tactic:

This dean is always trying to present himself in a good light and will say that things are going on when they are actually not going on. We've never had a big meeting where he has addressed everybody. We had a small one [meeting] once, and people disagreed with him about the [trade] union and he said, "who sent the email?" or "who agreed with the union? We know where your email addresses are". (R15, 15 years; Business)

R15 criticised her manager in several ways; firstly she highlighted that in the absence of factual information she believed he created his own truth, by saying things are happening when in fact they were not, seemingly dressing up the changes. Secondly, he appeared to never have had a whole faculty meeting choosing instead to disseminate information in smaller groups, which may have created a vacuum of variable information (Blakemore 2005), resulting in further divisions and divisiveness. Finally, in reminding staff that email trails could be tracked to verify the identity of individuals, could be seen as an act of intimidation (similar to the Mafia analogy used by R8), and used as a contingency to exert control for staff compliance (Bentham 1791; Foucault 1979) but instead, furthered mistrust (Lorenz 2012).

It appeared that micro-politics was being used to raise the standing of the dean, suppress the shared dissemination of information, whilst asserting his use of power to control the academics (Blakemore 2005; Kolsaker 2008; Lorenz 2012). However, in doing so academics' trust may be eroded (Marini and Reale 2015). This lack of effective leadership coupled with inadequate resources, could prove exasperating to academics as a whole, who are often on the bureaucratic and administrative end of change, leading to stress and even depression (Kinman 2014; Leadership Foundation Report 2015; *THE* University Workplace survey 2015, 2016).

R5 reported how she was micro-managed:

We have a director of under graduate studies that over-manages... "I want to see your slides before [teaching]" ... and "what are you going to do for this [class]? ...I want you to decide now because I want to know now" ... I really hate to be over managed....it's insulting my intelligence. (R5, 11 Years; Business and Economics)

R5 appeared resentful, that as an academic and professional she was being infantilised, similar to the earlier comment made by R3, with feelings of being treated in a child-like way. In the bid to retain total control over the work process, it appeared that managers were concentrating on every aspect of the academic's work and taking charge of even the tasks of organising and planning (Graham 2015). Interestingly, according to the AUT (2000), the term managerialism appeared to be more to do with, a lack of good management and leadership rather than with new practises. Such changes in the approach to managing academics are often cited as the main cause of stress in the academy (Kinman and Jones 2003; Kinman 2014). These participants have reported increasing levels of stress, bullying, frustration and feelings of fear, as a result of being poorly managed and micro-managed. With these areas highlighted as concerns, it may prove easier for managers coping with their own role uncertainties, to place EDI issues even further down the agenda (Dixit and Bhowmick 2011; ABS 2014).

Managerialism has changed the nature of the relationship between managers and academics, resulting in reflective changes being made to their professional identities (Nixon 2001). In assuming the rights of managers to monitor and control the activities of academics, their role overwhelmingly appeared to be one of restricting academic freedom through rendering academics: voiceless, powerless, subjugated and fearful (Barry et al 2001; Brown et al 2003; Kolsaker 2008), therefore contradicting the culture of collegiality suggested by Marini and Reale (2015) that advocated for example, bottom-up influence on decision-making.

The role of management under new managerialism appeared more complex than ever, with good management apparently meaning being able to deliver economy, efficiency and effectiveness; increasing league table

performance and satisfying students (Robertson 2010; Lorenz 2012; Williams et al 2012). Successful management in HEIs therefore required capabilities such as, the ability to lead change, communicate effectively, building, maintaining and repairing trust which might be difficult to develop (Lorenz 2012; ABS 2014).

An uncertain and unstable work environment, driven by cost efficiencies has ostensibly enabled academic managers to create what can be described as increasingly coercive working environments to simply cope with the pressures exerted upon them (Morley and Walsh 1995; Kinman and Jones 2003; UCU 2012; Kinman 2014). In working within tighter cost controls and constraints for both managers and academics, there may be a significant effect on the levels of work satisfaction and performance as well as on their morale and stress tolerance levels (Winter et al 1998; Kinman and Jones 2003). The impact of these cost reduction strategies may have taken its toll on: academic goodwill, health and well-being and on delivery and performance levels across HEIs, with many managers failing in their roles and seemingly fire-fighting their way from one short term crisis to another.

The next section explores how the participants' race is pronounced as the academy and its managers pursue greater efficiencies and opportunities under new managerialism extrapolations.

### *Race in the pursuit of efficiencies*

One of the core pursuits of new managerialism is to increase efficiencies in the organisation and key to this being achieved, places primacy on the efficient use of resources for productivity (Randle and Brady 1997; Deem 2006; Kolsaker 2008). The most critical resource of the university is their academic staff, which must be managed to best effect (Burgess 1996, cited in Graham 2015). I have found within this study that many of the

participants have reported that management are achieving these efficiencies through a number of cost reduction strategies including making the promotions process more complex (for example, stipulating a criteria for increased research and funding for promotions whilst simultaneously imposing greater teaching and administrative loads) therefore more difficult to achieve success, as a means of driving down salary costs. This complexity could be perceived as making the criteria more difficult to achieve which may prevent the progression of Black women for promotion in the academy as well as assist in preserving the Whiteness of the academy at certain levels of power and responsibility. One of the participants reported on the complexity of progression:

Internal promotion is difficult and I don't know if we can ever meet that expectation [greater research output; successful funding applications]. I think it's probably a strategy on their [management] part to keep us [Black women] down and keep pay levels low. (R10, 16 years; Business)

It would seem that R10 saw a double dimension to this new managerialism strategy, in keeping Black women down along with the pay levels. I interpret this to mean that in some way R10 felt subjugated in the academy as she later raised this issue again under workload intensity.

### *Workload intensification and race*

Given the need to manage resources more efficiently, academic managers are under increasing pressures to manage and maximise the workload of academic staff to demonstrate cost savings are being made (Graham 2015). Consequently, the time of the academic needs to be made more accountable (Chandler et al 2002, cited in Graham 2015).



A lot of people are finding that [work] highly pressurising and a lot of my [White] colleagues have gone off sick with stress as a result. It's something that I have thought about doing but suspect it might harm my career if I do that. (R10, 16 years; Business)

This issue of heavy workloads appeared to permeate many of the participants' well-being and there was contemplation about taking time off. Kinman and Jones (2003) and Kinman (2014), describe this situation of intensity in the academy as unmanageable, and that action is necessary to redress the stress being created. It was noticed by this participant that her career may be jeopardised as seemingly the consequences for right to time off was variable, and dependent upon colour in the academy.

A few of these participants however, reported being given workload allocations that equate to their race and gender in the academy. This is supported by the UCU (2012b) which found that post-1992 universities were the most culpable HEIs in having long hours working culture. Graham (2015) furthered that there was a suspicion that female academics did more of the hidden work than their male colleagues, such as personal tutoring, administration or student related in addition to teaching and research. This may result in a further perception of being marginalised as a result of higher workloads being apportioned to female academics and demonstrates that race was not the only factor for consideration when exploring axes of oppression.

R7 acknowledged the challenges and introduced her "colour" as the justification for keeping her head down and not complaining about work:

People just get on and take on the extra workload especially, dare I say, people with colour? We tend not to complain about anything because in a sense you are seen as being lucky to even have this job to start with. (R7, 13 years; Business)

This statement suggested that there was a belief amongst some participants that an ethnic dimension may lie behind having a heavier work-load. Interestingly however, this was the same participant who found no evidence of racism in the academy. It would appear that it was crucial to R7 remaining in the academy, not to protest or grumble as she believed she was perceived as a trespasser and simply “lucky” to have this job in the academy. However, it could also be argued that she may be feeling lucky in having a job in the current economic climate and consequently not wishing to complain about an increased workload. This was not made clear, nevertheless, R7 appeared to be accepting of her position and her workload.

### *Surveillance and race*

According to Gillborn and Ladson-Billings (2010) racism also operates through routine and mundane activities. One such activity may be in the capture of routine information. In having to treat students in more customer-like ways, I believe that many of the participants were more mindful of the different means by which academic managers captured information on service delivery whilst checking up on them as academic workers.

Survival in the academy is seemingly dependent upon being able to continuously analyse power and change in understanding the struggles taking place in the sector (Robertson 2010). Some of the participants deliberated about academic managers holding the balance of power and indirectly empowering students as surrogate surveillance devices to seemingly secure their power bases and the interests of the HEI (Parker and Jary 1995). This situation is nothing new, as Bentham (1791) referred to the idea of universal transparency and increased surveillance to achieve establishment goals. Since the participants were perceived as trespassers in the academy this may be an expected mode by the White majority to ensuring that control was maintained. The participants have reported the

various ways in which they were being surveilled, for example through the use of email, staff reviews, peer observations, student surveys and feedback. R17 articulated:

I email and ask the question and the email comes back to me and my manager is copied into the email. Why are you copying in the manager? I'm asking you [White colleague] the question because you are the course coordinator. It's almost like I'm bringing this to the manager's attention as well...two particular people have gone out of their way to do that. (R17, 7 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R17 was concerned that others were being simultaneously alerted to problems that may arise. In this situation, R17 experienced a sense of knowing that others (managers and colleagues) also knew that she was cognisant of being monitored. Foucault (1979) describes this increase in multiple surveillance activities as automatically enhancing the use of power and having the sole purpose of creating conscious and permanent visibility. Surveillance power was then disseminated in different ways using a variety of agents including students and colleagues to undertake the task of surveillance. Even though many of the participants would be seeking greater visibility in the academy this attempt at continuous surveillance inevitably changes the relationship between academics and their managers (Blakemore 2005) with the likelihood of trust being eroded and consequential stress created. Such surveillance drives fear of even being unable to talk about the realities of working in an institution for fear of losing one's job as stated by R8:

You just can't put a foot right. Anything you do is wrong so some people [Black colleagues] have left before they were pushed. There is that fear... if you speak out you will be asked to leave... your head will be on the line. You can't be yourself because you are constantly

looking over your shoulder to...cover your own back so you are above reproach. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

Interestingly, R8 comments that she is unable to be her true self, as it appears it is not enough to ensure she would not be reprimanded. It appears that fear and that of losing her job is a constant for Black women in the academy.

The next section explores how if racism is acknowledged, what responses are made in the academy.

#### *4.2.6 Acknowledgement of racism: redress*

According to the ECU (2015) the impact of poorly executed discriminatory policies (lack of cultural awareness; no ownership; lack of monitoring of effectiveness) upon Black women has not been analysed and has gone unheeded resulting in an exodus from the academy. With no real ownership by HEIs of measuring the impact of equality and diversity effectiveness it would seem that no real changes in terms of eliminating unfair discrimination have been made. These issues left unchecked in the academy I believe increases the opportunity for repetition of lessons not learned. R11 furthered:

My promotion was backdated for five years because the Vice Chancellor said he had not been aware of what was happening. I came to realise that all my papers had never been taken to any panel. My promotion papers twice had not reached any panel. The dean had been lying. The dean ended up losing his job; the head of department had to leave, and the director of HR had to leave because they had actually seen them [promotion papers]...We had a major review...looking at issues to do with bullying, racism, discrimination and the review did not only include members of staff

but it also included students because what was happening to us was also happening to Black students. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

In doing what they perceived was the morally right thing to do, the university had made it clear that these issues were intolerable. In dismissing senior staff members it seemed the HEI had apportioned some if not all the blame upon these dismissed individuals. This was interpreted as meaning that the HEIs reputation then became reparable over time as racial guilt was removed from the institution overtly and publicly. I believe in removing senior staff, the HEI was attempting to distance itself from the dismissed individuals in an act of damage limitation and the first step in restoring its reputation and indeed its property rights. This line of action was demonstrable evidence of empathic fallacy as the HEI attempted to change its narrative by offering a different one and undoing meanings that others in the academy had attached to their behaviours (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

There was evidence from the HEI of strong action being taken to preserve the essence of unity in their equality and diversity strategy and apologies later made which served the interest convergence tenet, where all parties benefit. However, it has been acknowledged that as a result of the equality and diversity initiatives embraced by HEIs, there really has only been a slight increase in the numbers of Black female academics working or being promoted in HEIs (ECU 2015a, 2015b).

R11 reflected on the redress given for direct and indirect racism:

One good thing about the university was that they acknowledged their mistakes and we were all given letters of apology but the effect that it has had on me as a woman, as a mother, as a sister in terms of the stress, has been enormous. And I've seen elements of that

still happening quite a lot. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

The impact upon what I perceive to be all facets of R11's female identity as a: woman, mother and sister seemed potentially capable of creating both psychological and emotional damage to R11's well-being and sense of self.

Despite the existence of robust equality and diversity policies posted on each of these five HEIs' web-sites (accessed on 23.10.2015), many of the participants, it would appear, felt that the daily reality of these policies were failing. There was an absence of successful implementation and any reference to having a positive impact was fictional. R15 summarised her thoughts on the new managerialism approach:

Managerialism is a bunch of wide-boys coming into the industry...They couldn't care less about being in a diverse university; they just use those words to frame things to get what they want. They are hypocrites. (R15, 15 years; Business)

R15's critique of new managerialism's embrace of diversity was an interesting example of what she believed is the reality of such policies. This suggests that diversity could appear to be a distraction strategy on the part of management to ensure their interests were best served thus fitting in well with the current discourse and accepted critique of new managerialism (see for example, Winter 2009; Kok et al 2010; Fanghanel 2012). According to Warmington (2012), such a strategy may, in reality have been established to ensure that racial inequalities are maintained. This attempted embrace of equality was also reflective of the interest convergence tenet, where equality and diversity strategies often appeared to be a short term strategy with a beginning, but never an end (Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

#### *4.2.7 Section summary*

This section has indicated that many of the participants were more accepting of the existence of racial issues being endemic in the academy. However, there were a few who were seemingly more reluctant to accept that their race was behind some of the challenges being experienced, despite there being contradictions found in their accounts.

For many of the participants, there was evidence of racism operating at different levels and in different ways in the academy. Some of the manifestations remained unquestioned and perhaps ignored by academic managers, practitioners and policy makers. Some of the participants had discussed being 'ill-treated', 'being battered', 'getting wet' all the time as part of their normal routine for existence at work. This then becomes endemic and normal in their everyday routines in the academy across different departments and may influence how their work roles and professional selves begin to be shaped. I believe that these participants' perceptions of themselves in the workplace as a result have become broken, weary and emotionally damaged with a few contemplating leaving the sector, but nevertheless remaining. Their survival strategy is summed up by R3:

The only sure way is to make sure that there are no complaints about you whatsoever. Don't give them [White colleagues] the chance to say anything negative about you. I am still pushing myself just as hard but with experience you don't feel that pressure, you don't feel the pain. (R3, 17 years; Business)

In discussing their experiences of racial discrimination, I have opened up the academy to greater scrutiny on how racial issues are being perceived and experienced by Black women. In sharing their experiences, the permanence of race has been revealed overtly as well as covertly along with the failings of the neo-liberalist agenda.

The next section furthers the discussion of race by exploring the participants' perceptions of being made to feel unwelcome in the academy.

### **4.3 CRT Tenet: Whiteness as Property**

The previous section illustrated that race remained a significant factor in determining inequities in the academy. In this section, I discuss the intersection of race and the ascription of property rights in the academy as critical in comprehending and providing depth to these participants' experiences in the academy.

According to Harris (1995, cited in Donnor 2013) white skin and Whiteness have become exclusive forms of private property which must be protected. This theoretical tenet therefore, proposes that there is an expectation and reliance upon a unique set of benefits and privileges associated with Whiteness. The use of this Whiteness I believe can be interpreted as something to which value and power is perceived to be attached and has been recognised by some of the participants in this study.

In exploring the manifestation of this tenet in the academy, I have examined issues emergent from the data to do with, for example, the use of academic space, collegiality, students and the use of power and politics. These themes constituted areas commonly discussed by the participants.

#### *4.3.1 Experiences of Whiteness as property*

According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995:58) "more pernicious and long lasting than the victimization [sic] of people of color [sic] is the construction of Whiteness as the ultimate property". Whiteness is then assumed to be the critical core of hierarchical relations between White and Black, "affirming self-identity and liberty", valued because it was denied to others (Harris 1993:1743). Despite the progression of equality and diversity legislation in



the UK, Whiteness continues to be perceived by these participants as materially significant to their oppression in their respective HEIs.

It has been suggested that the day to day realities of life in the academy contradict university ideals and that universities often act in ways that knowingly or unknowingly encourage and promote oppression or domination within their own operations (Chesler et al 2005; Marini and Reale 2015). In doing so, there may be underpinning elements of what is termed as dysconscious racism. This form of racism is defined as “racism that tacitly accepts dominant White norms and privileges” (King 2004:73). Such racism counters any insurgence or upward struggle being made as the institution appears to remain solidly White and masculine in culture and outlook.

### *Whiteness of academic space*

In discussing the property functions of Whiteness, Harris (1993:1734), identifies what she refers to as the “right of use and enjoyment”, where privileges are given and advantages gained by virtue of being White. In the context of this study, this is interpreted as a reference to the use of physical space and the surrounding environment being controlled and perceived as exclusively available for use by the White majority in the academy.

The physical environment of the academy was an issue for many of the participants. Some of the changes made to their physical work spaces under new managerialism cost efficiencies created disturbances to their established sense of belonging. Some of the participants commented on being moved from a single to shared office space or to an open plan office. One participant reflected on her denial of any physical space in the academy:

I have no office. There is nowhere for me to sit and have my own space. I'm carrying my bag and my books and everything and I'm moving from one end of the campus to the other, it's not right. I've voiced this to my line manager ...but nothing is done. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

This outcome could be as a result of R8 being a fractional appointment in two schools and slipping through the cracks as her voice was still not heard. It is not clear why she was not being heard and whether other fractional staff members would have had similar experiences. Another participant related her discontent:

There was a re-shuffle and I was paired up with Z [names Black female colleague] so I questioned that with my head of department. She said, "it's nothing to do with colour". I said, I was with the other lady and I was perfectly fine, why this reshuffle to put Z [names Black female colleague] and me in the same place? And she said, "she has a young son and I know you have two young boys so I thought you would have something to talk about." I said, what has that got to do with work? She was like, "oh, you guys would have..." I think she was trying to say, you have a lot in common, I don't know why she thought that. (R2, 11 years; Business)

It seems that this pairing may have been implemented along racial lines as perceived by R2. It would appear that the head of department was quick to eliminate that it was about colour and instead chose to use the safer option of having children as the common element.

R2 did not say whether her previous office colleague was also a mother or not and questioned the basis upon which the comment was made. It appeared that the head of department exercised her right to use her legitimate power in corralling R2 with another Black woman. This act could be seen as a strategy to keep Black academics together within an

identifiable space and location in the academy. The use of power in this way with decisions affecting staff, would be seen as congruent with the property rights of the head of department (Harris 1993).

The unexpected occupation of space in the academy by Black women was confirmed by a White male colleague's reaction to seeing a group of Black female academics together in the same space:

There were four of us as academic sisters [other Black women] and we were standing in this corridor, just talking and laughing and joking amongst ourselves about general things. A White colleague walked past and went into his office. He came back out about five minutes later and we were still talking. After he had done this about three times, it's almost as if he couldn't stop himself and he said "what are you all talking about?" I turned round and said, it's Black women having a conversation and he just went bright red...it's almost seen as an uncomfortable situation for White people to see...he never came back out of his office but that did make us feel as if...because there is a number of us...was there some kind of threat? It was the deliberateness of his behaviour which made me feel that he wouldn't have been bothered with anyone else. Wouldn't have asked another group of [White] women. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

This account seems to imply that this was an extraordinary occurrence for the White colleague to have experienced and seemingly was not meant to either exist or to happen. Puwar (2004:51) advises such social spaces (in this instance, the corridor), "are not blank and open for anybody to occupy...some bodies have the right to belong in certain locations, while others are marked out as trespassers who are... 'out of place'."

These participants, it would appear, were classified as unnatural occupants of this traditional space, which was seen as the preserve of

White, middle class males (Puwar 2004; Mirza 2006a, 2009; Wright et al 2007) and their presence in this apparently sacred space subsequently challenged by the perceived natural occupant, the White male colleague. The colleague may have felt that his right to use and enjoy this academic space was not being fulfilled and therefore had a legitimate right to exercise his power to enquire what was being discussed (Harris 1993). This situation perhaps reinforced the notion that Black women are perceived as trespassers and their place was not to be outside his office in his corridor. Their presence outside his office had ostensibly removed his right to “use and enjoyment” at will, as suggested by Harris (1993:1729).

Interestingly, R11 wondered if their being in that space proved threatening in some way to the White colleague. I interpreted this gathering as being seen as a perceived and collective menace not just to their colleague but perhaps to the Whiteness of the academy. R11 seemed to accept that a group of White women would not have been approached in the same way. Such acceptance combined with experience that R11 recounted so vividly, may serve to generate further feelings of Black women not really belonging in the academic workplace and perpetuated their sense of being outsiders.

The next section furthers this discussion of being outsiders and being marginalised.

### *4.3.2 Outsiders in the academy*

#### *Trespassers*

In discussing her fourth proposition to the identification of Whiteness, Harris (1993) suggests that property also includes “rights of possession” (p1736). She describes this as being the absolute right to exclude others “deemed to be ‘not White’.”(ibid). Such exclusions were earlier highlighted in Section 4.2, exploring the prevalence of race. Examples of exclusion

under the property tenet are evidenced within: academic spaces, meetings and staff progression and appears to be central to the premise of Whiteness as property.

Common feelings of being treated as trespassers, being marginalised and made to feel invisible as well as infantilised also emerged from these findings and were experienced by almost all of the participants. A few authors investigating the issue of race in the English academy (see for example, Deem et al 2005; Jones 2006; Mirza 2008; Bhopal 2016), have also identified these feelings.

Some participants reported their denial of access to job opportunities and promotions. This tenet in seeking to remove the “contaminating influence of blackness”, proposes that special permission must be granted to others for example, Black women, to be present as perceived insiders (Bell 1980, cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995:60). I would suggest that even when permission and right to be in the academy is given, many of the participants still felt like intruders. This proposition consequently, is quite germane to gaining an insight into understanding their experiences.

In finding their space in the academy it became evident to these participants that space was also about presence, “not just about physical space it is also about the power to occupy a historical space” (Mirza 2006a:141). However, in being noticed in the academy some of these participants were challenged as space invaders, trespassers or visitors (Gay 2004; Puwar 2004; Mirza 2006a). One participant summarised how she felt about being unwelcome:

It's because I'm a professional Black woman and people [White colleagues] don't want you to be there [in the academy]. I realise that can be a thorn in the side of my [White] colleagues who are insecure.  
(R17, 7 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R17 cited her professionalism, her race and her gender as three factors, which seemed to conspire against her being in the academy. It appears that she is perhaps seen as threatening to the preservation of the historical academy which may be unnerving to others. However, R17 did not provide reasons why her White colleagues felt insecure.

According to ECU (2015), feeling like outsiders in the academy or invisible to others can result in a natural exclusion from activities and groups and ultimately career aspirations. This exclusion is also reflective of the concept of “new property” which furthers property interests away from just space and belonging into other tangibles such as jobs, contracts and intangibles such as intellectual property (Reich 1964, cited in Harris 1993:1728).

Another participant commented:

I’m treated as an outsider...It matters to me because it tells me they [White colleagues] don’t value me. It tells me I’m just a number...Is there any reason why I’m being treated this way? It gives me the impression that they are trying to tolerate me rather than celebrate me. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

It seemed that R8 who previously reported that racism in her opinion had not been present in the academy is now more cognisant of what was happening around her. In describing herself seemingly as inventory having, “just a number”, is reminiscent of Black property and therefore Black bodies having little identifiable value. Locke (1968, cited in Harris 1993:1735) asserts, “every man (sic) has a property in his own person”. I interpret this to mean that self-ownership is necessary for identity to have value and here we see that R8 felt she was relegated to being just a number, removing all sense of her personal property, identity and maybe even herself. This furthers the notion of possession of the right kind of property being necessary for value and worth in the academy. In this situation, according to Harris (1993:1726), “Whiteness defines the legal status of a person as slave

or free”. R8 claimed to not understand why this was happening which could be perceived as self-denial on her part or simply a lack of awareness as indicated in the earlier section, she did not believe racism existed in the academy. However, her being ‘treated this way’, as ‘just a number’ is perhaps as a result of dysconscious racism or bias on the part of her (White) colleagues and management.

All of the participants from Health and Social Sciences had explicit and common experiences of discrimination within National Health Service Institutions where the perceptions of Black professionals appeared to also be as outsiders. It seemed that these participants have remained as trespassers even though they were qualified and have earned their place as insiders in at least two large public sector institutions. The resultant impact of constantly being unwelcome in others’ spaces can create negative emotional and psychological effects because of this difference (Gay 2004; Mirza 2006b) and can breed insecurity (Jones 2006).

Many of the participants recounted the double-take that often happened when they were seemingly uncomfortably noticed and White others becoming befuddled as a result. R10 described this moment:

I’m sure when people speak on the phone to me they are very surprised when they see me in person because I don’t think my voice tells you what colour I am. So when they come looking for me they are very surprised and ask have you seen R10? I am R10 and they are very, very surprised. (R10, 16 years; Business)

This sense of being made to feel like unwelcomed trespassers begins to cascade down through academic ranks of the HEIs and into the student population to some of the Black students. R13 summarised:

There was one student...asking me about my journey because she was a Black student and she said, “I remember hearing a comment where they said, “Black nurses? we expect you to be permanent

members of the BBC". I said, BBC? She said, "British bum cleaners that is where you should be as a nurse." (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

It had become evident that the circle of exclusivity had continued into the next generation of scholars where they too were reminded of their place and position in undertaking unqualified, unskilled and unpleasant work. The notion of new property appeared to be extended even further to now embrace job roles and entitlements and even occupational licences (for example in being a nurse, as indicated above) (Reich 1964, cited in Harris 1993) and could be perceived as embedded and a constant in the environment.

#### *4.3.3 Marginalisation and invisibility*

BME staff remain significantly under-represented in the academy and accounts of marginalisation and invisibility have been reported by a number of authors (Deem et al 2005; Jones 2006; Mirza 2008, 2007; Arya 2012; ECU 2009, 2015a). BME academics are often viewed in stereotypical ways, which devalue, marginalise and exclude them from routes of power (Heward et al 1997:216).

It was assumed that I was a secretary at the university...whilst speaking with a student I was assumed by a member of the admin team that I was the student, because he [the student] was older than me and White. (R6, 10 Years, Economics)

Being stereotyped in this way seemed to cement the participants' belief that they were simply not expected nor meant to be present in their role or space in the academy. This marginalisation creates both a cloak and burden of invisibility in UK HEIs because Black staff are too few in numbers (Mirza 2008; ECU 2009, 2015).



All of the participants made comments relating to their feelings of being on the periphery, isolated or made to feel invisible as summarised by two participants:

You are in a meeting, sometimes you want to raise very important points. You even raise that point and it goes unnoticed. Then your White counterpart raises that same point. 'Oh, oh what a good idea, what a brilliant idea'. That frustrates you. The next time you don't even bother to open your mouth to say anything. (R3, 17 years; Business)

I felt marginalised on that one. I felt to an extent is it because of who I am that I am being treated this way? I can't see anybody running around trying to get the contract signed. (R2, 11 years; Business)

According to Casey (1993:111), "the Black woman is created by a White gaze which perceives her as a mute, visible object". Both these participants seem to feel that they were not important or relevant enough to the discussion or for their status to be readily confirmed as permanent. R2 asked a question similar to R8's (section 4.3.2) in why she was being treated in this way. Treatment like this could reinforce their own perceptions of others considering them only as mute and in this instance, invisible objects. Being marginalised allowed them to still be viewed as outsiders and as a result, they were not afforded the same rights as the White majority which included being heard.

R5 remarked on her exclusion:

At departmental meetings you hear all these decisions that were made and you think, where are they made? Why wasn't I privy to this? Why doesn't anybody want my opinion? What? I'm the plebeian hamster? I can't think?" (R5, 11 years; Economics)

ECU (2015) states that Black minority ethnic staff are not present in rooms where make or break conversations are being held. It would seem that such exclusion could result in the pipeline to progression in the academy remaining quite homogenous and affect the feelings of self-worth that these participants have. R5 remarked on being made to feel like a “plebeian hamster”, implying that her exclusion and their low consideration of her contribution had negated her sense of self. These thoughts appear to render the participants as inhuman beings, as inventory, not capable of name or thought as also mentioned previously by R8. If these conversations do not include BMEs then the diversity of the pipeline is unlikely to change.

### *Progression*

R12, despite declaring not to have experienced race discrimination in the academy, questioned why more Black women were not in more senior positions.

Considering the numbers of sisters [other Black women] in higher education, one might want to ask the question why aren't there enough of us in senior management positions? What is getting in the way of not seeing more sisters who are in senior management positions? (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R12 surmised that something might be in the way of progression. Indeed, she asked the question, “what is getting in the way?” This question was similarly raised in a report by ECU (2012) in examining the issues preventing more minority ethnic staff from progressing in the academy. The answers, the report concluded were likely to reside in the culture of the institution as well as the role undertaken by managers and HR to ensure equity and fairness in staff development and progression. The lack of progression may be reflective of new managerialism’s neo-liberalism’s emphasis on meritocracy (which views all as being able to progress through the mechanisms/guidelines put in place), which in reality for Black

women remains a mythical hope. As a result of the perceived unfairness, inequity and ineffective diversity policies, eighty-five per cent of BME staff leave the academy to seek better working conditions (ECU 2015a).

### *Invisibility*

According to Mirza (1999) equality and diversity policies are formulated around a White male agenda. As a result of the current frameworks for equality and diversity in the academy Black women are rendered invisible and consequently, are more vulnerable to further discrimination (Patel 2001; ECU 2015a; Bhopal 2016). A few of the participants commented upon the invisibility of Black women in the academy. For example:

Coming into a departmental meeting let's do a headcount. So how many women here? A couple, okay. Then we'd say, if you start off with the VLs, the Blacks are doing okay; the women are doing okay. Let's go up to lecturers, a few; senior lecturers? None. (R5, 11 years; Business and Economics)

Other participants commented on their being the only Black person in the room in different places in the academy. According to some authors, Black academics may be doing this form of counting and checking to either feel less isolated or to prove their sense of isolation in the academy (Mabokela and Green 2001; ECU 2009, 2015a, 2015b). R14 offered:

When I used to go to those national meetings, I've been to Scotland, Wales all over the place I would more likely than not, be the only Black person in the room, only Black. (R14, 17 years; Health and Social Sciences)

This absence of Black staff continues to perpetuate what is perceived as the impenetrable weight of Whiteness in the academy (Back 2004; Mirza 2006b) allowing for an increase in BME departures. For these participants I believe that Whiteness had been evidenced in ways that furthered the

creation of a more homogenous higher education culture. For example, with their intelligence being challenged, ethnicity matched pairings being frequently made and their presence constantly questioned, helped in furthering this cultural drift. R11 summarised:

I haven't seen a champion in matters of equality and race and that is left unchecked. The impact on Black women is not analysed at all and everybody is leaving the sector because of that. Before, there were groups of workers who would organise themselves whether they were women, or they were Black workers. We have got so many areas for challenge and fighting that no one is actually keeping their eye on how do we do equality impact assessments? How is this affecting different kinds of staff? (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

This participant raised a number of issues about equality and diversity. Issues to do with: who has real ownership of the policies; who is measuring the impact of such policies and how it is being done and more importantly in monitoring the impact and effectiveness on those people the policies are meant to be helping. R11 appeared to believe that there is an absence of ownership and assessment of impact or simply does not know who is undertaking such assessments as there is the likelihood that this information is not publicised. In the absence of ownership I believe there is likely to be a neglect of such issues and the effectiveness and success of the policies never fully determined. Recent research by ECU (2015a:22) has revealed that, "there was a lack of acknowledgement of these experiences by senior levels in the Institutions" and what is required is for senior managers to act not just as workplace sponsors but also as diverse role models recognising that racial bias and harassment exist (ECU 2015a). Relevant and prompt training may also be necessary to bridge their learning. However this suggestion was also raised previously and subsequently dismissed by R12,

(Section 4.2.2) in discussing such an initiative in the NHS, which in her opinion did not work.

By being viewed as invisible objects in the academy, it would appear that this would lead to a greater sense of separation from the workplace and the White majority staff. The detachment between White colleagues and Black women was evidenced, for example, when R13 recalled presenting her poster:

I had my poster and I stood next to my poster, it was my very first one. Not one person was interested in what I was doing. All of my [White] colleagues? They [White colleagues] didn't ask me about it. They didn't want to know. (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R13 did not make it clear when or where she presented her poster, however she reported feeling ignored, feelings of simply not being there; being invisible and feeling isolated. This situation implied that in presenting a poster, R13 was attempting to prove her earned place in the academy and that she was sufficiently intellectual enough to be presenting her work alongside the White majority staff. In ignoring her, it appeared that the acknowledgement and validation she desired was not given and she appeared to remain on her own, on the periphery.

Other participants such as R14 reported similar incidents of being hidden away and not given the opportunity to be visible:

Hidden away prepping and teaching, prepping and teaching so whatever voice I had around issues, didn't have, 1, the opportunity to be heard, and 2, the confidence to speak. (R14, 17 years; Health and Social Sciences)

In being invisible, there appears to be a sense that Black female academics are concealed, described as 'hidden counter public' and seemingly not fit

for display (Fraser 1994:84). Being hidden, reinforced the construction of these participants as mute and invisible objects. According to Reynolds (2002) in moving the voices of Black women from the margins to the centre encourages critical and reflexive thinking about race as it places them where they can be both seen and heard. Such movement begins to remove the invisibility of non-recognition or misrecognition of Black women (Taylor 1994). It would also provide Black female staff with the confidence to speak (which R14 reported lacking), so their voices are heard.

Some HEIs are seemingly attempting to increase their image of diversity by giving Black women what I would determine as unreal opportunities for visibility. For example, an impression of visibility may be given and simultaneously withdrawn as illustrated by R2:

Doing the prospectus and our leaflets for the open days you needed course managers and their pictures and their profile...they refused to put mine. They just kept the old guy's face. No reason why, because marketing actually came to me to take a picture...but when the print came out it hadn't changed so somebody along the line had stopped it...they just didn't want my colour and my face on there. (R2, 11 years; Business)

Assumptions had been made by R2 that the prospectus publication had been intercepted to prevent her image from being published. R2 emphasised that it was her colour which prevented her image from being included. In viewing Whiteness as property, reputation is intrinsic within the ownership of property (Harris 1993:1734). It could be possible that even though R2 was recognised by marketing as relevant as the course leader as they photographed her for the prospectus, she was perhaps not of significant enough value to promote the HEI in their wider marketing material.

In this instance, I believe R2s sense of invisibility had become inadvertently amplified. Even though many of the post-1992 HEIs boast of their embrace of diversity in terms of staffing and students, it would appear that this boast becomes confined to pages of policy material and strategically placed advertising statements. This omission seems to be an opportunity missed for the HEI to raise their profile in reflection of their diversity policies, and to present those attending the open day R2 referred to, with the evidence that the university staff is ethnically diverse and that their policies are practice and not just rhetoric. The exclusion of R2 from the publicity material, raises a further question about the extent to which the university in seeking to attract students like the White majority staff, wanted to project an image of a staff body just like them. R2 furthered:

I have always tried not to use my colour as a reason why. I always try and deal with things as colleague to colleague and nothing to do with colour but these are the things that I pick up and it might be relevant to my colour...prior to those experiences...although I have heard, I never felt my colour would have been an issue but I have become more alert and more aware. (R2, 11 years; Business)

It appeared that initially R2 had attempted to convince herself that her ethnicity was not the issue behind her useful visibility then invisibility, before realisation dawns that when all else was eliminated only her colour remained. This experience seemed to be R2's revelatory moment when her eyes became fully opened as she became more attuned to the hidden signals and subtle behaviours within her environment, such as being excluded from the course prospectus and promotional open day publicity materials.

R3 however, in seemingly formulating her survival strategy advised caution and vigilance for Black women in making themselves too visible:

I even tell my Black colleagues, just keep quiet. My experience says you don't raise your voice, just keep quiet and do what you can do and that's it...if you stand out of the crowd, you want to speak your mind, you will find yourself in a far worse situation than if my White counterpart were to do the same. (R3, 17 years; Business)

For these participants it appears that even visibility seems to be problematic within the academy and a denial of self (including the right to speak and be heard) was sometimes necessary for some to survive in the academy.

### *Infantilisation*

The premise that Whiteness is built upon both exclusion and racial subjugation and the more subjugated non-white others are, then the greater the shaping of White superiority and identity (Harris 1993:1737). It has been suggested that Black academic staff are subjected to a process of infantilisation whereby they are not just pigeon-holed into being race experts, but also seen as less capable of being in authority (Puwar 2004; Mirza 2006a; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). As a means of stressing that these individuals do not belong, some recall being subjected to seemingly juvenile treatment.

This sense of infantilisation is conveyed by R8 who earlier expressed her fears of having to leave the academy, despite her perceptions of it not being a racist environment:

The management team, they just talk at you. You don't have a view, you don't even respond, you just take it: yes sir, yes sir, three bags full...You just get told things and for fear of losing your job, you don't want to rock the boat. It's an unwritten rule that your card will be marked. (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing)

It seemed as if information given to these professionals is unidirectional as dominance is asserted in this situation. R8 appeared to be submissive and



felt restricted in not having a view or a voice and only seeming to acknowledge what had been said without question and in silence. This excerpt took me back to her earlier statement of her being “just a number”, eroding her sense of self, importance and well-being. Her academic freedom of expression and free and equal opportunities to use her personal faculties (Harris 1993) seemed to be eroded. This depiction is reflective of property values and expectation, where those with Whiteness expect continued control over their objects/property (Harris 1993).

New managerialism rejects the dominance of the professional and perpetuates the role of academic managers in restricting academic freedom (Barry et al 2001; Brown et al 2003). Some of the other participants echoed R8’s view of restricted freedom and reported that a more prescriptive approach to managing was being imposed, where freedom and voice was silenced, lost or stifled.

There has always been a conscious effort to stifle one’s development because they [management] know that way you can’t actually move out of your situation. (R3, 17 Years; Business)

In suggesting that this is mindful determination on the part of management to suppress her progression would imply that R3 in becoming more developed in the academy may be perceived as a challenge to her expected and subjugated position. Here, the suggestion is made that it is necessary that institutions and routine practices such as surveillance, denied promotions, delayed contracts, keep minorities in subordinate positions (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). R13 furthered this feeling of infantilisation:

Something's been said ... you haven't done your job or I feel like I've been told off. I'm not a kid but it comes across like that and I don't like that...You'll get people speaking to you in a certain way and you just

think, how dare you speak to me like that? Whether it's in an email or a public forum or on the phone or the way they deal with you, the way they speak to you sometimes you think, how would you feel if someone spoke to you like that? (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

In being treated like children, I recognise that stereotypical inferences about race were being made about Black women and their ability to be in authority or even in executing their work. This statement can be linked to R13's previous feelings of having experienced apartheid, where she declared that having experienced it, she feels it and knows it. This feeling of being subjugated and being spoken to in a certain way may result in these Black participants becoming more restricted academics as voice and freedoms are curtailed (Hoyle 1955; Evans 2008).

HEIs' emphasis on hard managerialism may impact the participants' sense of collegiality as this top-down new managerialism approach suppresses scholarly voices (Marini and Reale 2015). Being able to have a voice and be heard seems important to these participants. However, it is noted that academic freedom through voice and consultation has the potential to frustrate new initiatives (Koch 2003). A challenge to existing policies and strategies through raised voices, representing a softer approach to new managerialism may however, prove counter-productive to academic managers wishing to pursue their own agenda in the broader institutional interests of the HEI. Their management agenda may not necessarily prove beneficial to Black female academics.

In identifying what I would view as the toxicity of their environment, R15 reflected:

You are in a culture where you are being blamed, so you doubted yourself...your confidence level goes really low because you've been

battered and told you're not good enough, you're not good enough.  
(R15, 15 years; Business)

It would appear that not only are these Black female academics being infantilised but there was evidence that power and control was being used in forceful ways to remind them that they are outsiders. It is possible that some of the participants perhaps saw this kind of restrictive management as a means of furthering their sense of inequality in the academy.

#### *4.3.4 Power as property*

Many of the participants in this study reported an autocratic academic management style where power was seemingly only really vested in the few who were predominantly White. Threats were being constantly made to silence voices. With this top-down distribution of power in the academy, collegiality then became a zero sum game (Marini and Reale 2015).

I feel that sometimes there is too much power in too few [White] people at senior level which has a significant impact on [Black] people below them. (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

Within HEIs, Whiteness becomes central to managing relations between White and Black staff, ensuring minimal opportunity for meaningful influence at lower levels (Harris 1993). The literature chapter highlighted that there were too few Black women in positions of power or at senior levels in the academy (see for example ECU 2009, 2015b; Bhopal and Jackson 2013; Bhopal 2016). R12 suggested that as a result of this unequal distribution of power there was a greater impact on those at lower levels. Since there are relatively few Black academics in senior positions this impact is likely to be felt by most Black academics.

Managerialism, it has been suggested, assumes the right of one group to monitor and control the activities of others (Kolsaker 2008). This right contradicts the culture of collegiality suggested by Marini and Reale (2015) which many HEIs profess to promote. The culture of collegiality advocates, for example, democracy among peers and a bottom-up influence on decision making. However, the reality of such a culture is questionable as the hard approach to managerialism insists on compliance and control within the hierarchical relationship.

The White colleague sent that email to everybody making it look as if this particular member of staff [Black woman] was incompetent and not only incompetent but actually wasn't being collegiate or being supportive within the team...it was about power play being done and I hear that so many times from sisters [other Black women] who are professionals having to justify their actions...even more. (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R12 seemed to understand that there was greater support within certain staff groups for each other to the exclusion of Black women. She viewed this forwarding of an e-mail as an exercise of this (White) colleague's right to power in proving the incompetence of Black staff and their inability at team work or cohesion. An absence of collegiality on the part of R12 was conveniently indicated in the e-mail perhaps signifying the unsupportive behaviour of Black women in achieving departmental goals.

As HEIs become more bent on new managerialism there is increased deliberations focused on the degree to which collegiality and transparency has been dislodged and trust eroded (AUT 2000; Kolsaker 2008; Leadership foundation report 2015; Marini and Reale 2015). For these participants, this displacement of collegiality has made them more alert to their White colleagues' behaviours and intentions:

I'm always guarded. I'll be honest with you I don't feel that I can say that I trust my [White] colleagues in my department because I don't. (R13, 10 years, Health and Social Sciences)

I was the grafter, I was reliable...but there was a lot of back-stabbing going on. They [White colleagues] would say one thing to your face and something different somewhere else, so it's probably part of a toxic organisation culture. (R15, 15 years; Business)

With Whiteness as a property consideration, both these participants acknowledged that they had to be mindful that their interests would not always be supported. Consequently, they too felt they had to be careful with their methods of communication and how they interacted with their [White] colleagues.

Insufficient time and heavier workloads, indicative under managerialism seemed to create a culture that suggested toxicity and divisiveness within departments and colleagues. However, divisiveness for R11 was experienced along racial lines:

The department that I was in was completely split into two on racial grounds, in the sense that there were all our White colleagues apart from two and there were more of them than us. This was a department of over thirty-six members of staff. They all supported the head of department. The Black colleagues they were together and they [White colleagues] ended up putting in a petition against us. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

R11 did not state why this split had occurred or why a petition was put in against them or indeed what the petition covered, but the division between the White and Black staff may be linked to her earlier statement of monkey images being posted on her door. In this situation, divisiveness has occurred because of discrimination experienced by Black staff and

perceived inequity, which has apparently resulted in feelings of insularity, isolation and alliances forming. HESA data (2016a) revealed an average of twenty Black academic staff per UK HEI. Given that, this was just one department in one faculty in the university it is unlikely that there would be twenty Black academics involved. So when R11 spoke about the department being split in two, it is clear that even with the support of two White colleagues they were out-numbered.

Despite their forward-looking neo-liberal initiatives, the face of the academy balances power in favour of its perceived natural inhabitants and ownership of property in the academy. Seemingly, the significance of new managerialism is not just contained within the hierarchical structures of authority in HEIs but in the erosion of the balancing role played by collegiality (MacFarlane 2005). However, if racism is embedded in processes and structures then routine practices will continue to subordinate minority ethnic groups (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). R13 commented upon the divisions she experienced in the academy:

In our department it was deemed that there was a lot of unfairness. Some of the [White] lecturers, senior lecturers were not performing to par and here we were [Black women practice educators], not getting paid as much as they were but actually delivering and so there was a reorganisation of the whole department. ...We were all equal and that caused a whole load of uproar in the department. (R13, 10 years, Health and Social Sciences)

Within this HEI there was seemingly an attempt to make the reward for work more equitable which appeared to upset the status quo. However, the White majority staff it would seem were more content with processes of inequity, accepted as standard practice in the academy despite Black women doing work of equal value.

*Being political*

Being political in this study is about race, management, colleagues and students. All these areas have contributed to the emotional and psychological well-being of the participants. A few of the participants however, seemed to have a better understanding of the notion that the academy is political, because there were power dynamics at play. In order for them to be a professional, their own source of power and how it can be used must be recognised. For many of these participants, it seems that politics is about identifying their significant difference and using it in their effort for power. R12 reported:

I sometimes think that you need to understand the politics. You need to understand how to play the game to be able to get to places and get to positions. Now whether that means you have to sell your soul, I'm not sure at times...sometimes I think sisters [other Black women] don't always learn the politics and I get very frustrated. (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R12 seemed to recognise that there were advantages in being seen to “play the game”. This could be viewed as a form of reverse interest convergence on her part. R12 seemed to have ensured that she had benefitted from her own strategic plans and playing others at their own game. In debating whether she needed to sell her soul would seem to imply that sacrifices simply had to be made to get ahead. Not many of her Black female colleagues had apparently understood that this was what needed to be done, to survive the academy.

R11 related what was said to her by a White professor after another promotion rejection:

R11 don't worry...because it's politics, it's how your face fits; it's not rejection, they are just playing politics...Don't feel too bad that they

didn't give you the promotion because they would have taken away the drawbridge completely and you would have just been left alone without any support. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

This attempt at consolation could be seen as her professor appearing to understand what was really behind the choices made and being sympathetic whilst realistic about the situation. He suggested that there would be no real support even if she had been given the position and she would have been set up to fail. This may constitute further proof that there were those within the academy who believed that attaining a higher position was not a realistic goal for the Black female academic as it was probable that she would be considered incapable of authority (Puwar 2004; Mirza 2006a; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). This was yet another indication that the balance of power remained with the White majority staff within the academy.

#### *Students' power*

In using students as additional sources of power as well as covert surveillance devices, one participant felt that she was unfairly implicated in the failure of a Black student:

I've had one student who accused me of being the reason why she was failing. And it just happened to be a Black student. For some reason it was my fault. It wasn't my fault she failed because she was failing but someone had to take the blame and she decided it was me. When the factual evidence was gathered it was quite clear I had done what I needed to do towards this student. (R14, 17 years; Health and Social Sciences)

This accusation raises a number of issues in interpretation. It appeared that it may have been easier for the Black student to blame a Black academic rather than a White one who also taught the student; or perhaps the Black



student felt the allegation would be taken more seriously if a Black academic was blamed. This raises a question as to why the student may have thought this and what impression did the HEI give as to this. Under new managerialism and a climate of increased student-customer power, being concerned about student satisfaction (e.g. the NSS) may thus encourage complaints. Without speaking to the student, it is impossible to know their reasoning for reporting the Black academic. Alternatively, there is the likelihood that the accusation would not have really mattered in the long term because this was a Black student blaming a Black academic and as a result, the concern may be devalued and downplayed by White majority managers. However, in investigating the allegation the university took the complaint seriously, placing the interests of the student-customer above race.

### *4.3.5 Section summary*

This section has explored issues around Whiteness as property in the academy and in doing so, has made apparent the blurring of this tenet line with others such as the permanence of racism tenet, interest convergence tenet and the challenges being made to neo-liberalist policies that claim to increase equality and diversity in the academy (tenet five).

The next section explores how these participants have experienced the tenet of interest convergence under new managerialism.

#### **4.4 CRT Tenet: Interest Convergence**

This tenet proposes that the interests of Blacks achieving race equality will only be considered or tolerated when it converges with interests of Whites (Bell 1980, cited in Brown and Jackson 2013). In exploring the ways in which this tenet is manifested in HEIs I have examined how through the manipulation of interests there is actually racial divergence being created to protect and embolden White supremacy (power) (Guinier 2004, cited in Gillborn 2013). This convergence is attempted through equality and diversity policies as well as tokenism, stereotyping and mentor-matching. However, these are also the areas where divergence was also evident.

##### *4.4.1 Diversity idealism or tokenism?*

Neo-liberal equality and diversity policies have been described as momentary peaks of progress and simple tools in the struggle for justice and inclusion that are often short-term and irrelevant thus preserving White dominance (Bell 1980, cited in Brown and Jackson 2013; Gillborn 2013). As universities pursue their varied agenda for progressing equality and diversity initiatives many of the participants felt that they were still isolated, on the periphery and at times simply being exploited. Many of the participants experienced this exploitation if or when they were approached to take part in different university activities and initiatives such as recruitment strategies, and in promoting diversity awareness.

##### *Tokenism*

According to Puwar (2004:51) the increasing institutional desire for difference and diversity may allow Black women to become “hot” property in terms of research projects and teaching once they stay in their place as “natives in the academy”. Such an assertion may be interpreted as introducing degrees of tokenism but also has the potential to raise the visibility of Black female academics. Many of the participants experienced

being selected for example, for international student recruitment purposes because of ethnicity or for stereotypical reasons; however, only a few seemed to view such selection as opportunistic:

What I don't want is to be singled out because of my ethnicity but if it means that I can travel more and it suits me at the time...if they want to send me down to Barbados or Trinidad for international recruitment then that may be advantageous for me and not necessarily because of my ethnicity but because of what I know, my knowledge of the subject, my knowledge of the course, my knowledge of the institution and a variety of other things, not just because of the colour of my skin. (R10, 16 years; Business)

R10's comment seemed to start with a contradiction of not wanting ethnicity to be the reason why she was selected yet simultaneously accepting that it was because of her ethnicity which could be beneficial to her at this time. However, she later appeared to stress that her selection must be to do with her obvious knowledge of a number of things and not just her skin colour. It would seem as if this participant is trying to convince herself, perhaps in an act of colour-blindness, that her race was not the reason for her seemingly legitimate if not token selection to increase overseas student recruitment. I presume her belief to be that the academy is actually neutral in their selection of staff to enhance student recruitment. The issue being raised here is whether or not her White colleagues would have been selected in the same way for this project. R10's background is Caribbean and it looks as if it would be more useful and easier for her HEI to forge those necessary links using R10 as the middle-agent to best serve their interests. R2 reported a similar experience:

When the university wanted information on recruiting students from Africa they [from the international office] called me...They said, "do you know we are now offering courses in Ghana? We understand

that you are from Ghana...what contacts...would help with recruiting Ghanaians to come here?" I was actually happy to help and surprised that I was noticed in the first place...previous head of department moved into the international office...I suppose that link otherwise wouldn't have picked me up, but I was willing to help if I could do something to help the numbers and bring a few more quality students into the university then, yes. (R2, 11 years; Business)

R2 in acknowledging her surprise in being noticed and becoming visible suddenly recalled that her head of department must have been the source of this information. Realising the basis behind her being identified, then negated her visibility as she was not noticed, just remembered. Her being remembered might have been because of her colour, however, this fact was not made clear. Interpreting this information suggests that she was a useful means of accessing Ghana given her background, and serving the interests of the HEI. In being willing to help I perceive that R2 was prepared to be of service and may even begin to assume she had been personally welcomed into the academy because she was given a role representing the university.

Interestingly, this same participant in the previous section (under marginalisation and invisibility), could not get anyone to sign her employment contract, or accelerate her progression. Yet, when it suited the university, she was conveniently chosen to assist with student recruitment. It appeared that she was selected because of her race, which might make it easier for her HEI to build links in Africa and gain additional students.

A number of authors suggest that the Black female is assumed to be a natural expert on all things to do with race (Mirza 2006a; Johnson 2008; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). As a result, it has been suggested that HEIs may use Black women as part of their strategy to portray an image of diversity within their HEI, which does not always reflect the reality (ECU

2015b). Some of the participants observed that a sense of tokenism existed because of their ethnicity. Approaches would be made to them but seemingly presented as opportunities. It would appear that some of the participants felt these so-called opportunities were in fact further exploitations of their ethnicity and that they were classified as fit for only specific purposes. For example, R3 appeared to be less trusting of management and seemed to feel that there were elements of micro-politics beneath work offers being made:

I was the only Black female prior to 'A' [other Black female colleague] coming. When you are asked to do this [perceived work opportunity], they [management] are doing it to make it look like they are giving equal opportunity. But you know that you are being put there as a Black. You know you are really a token Black. You are being put there because they want it to look like they are fair. (R3, 17 years; Business)

R3 seemed to acknowledge that there was a latent reason behind this selection and seemingly understood that her interests were not being served. Rather, it appeared that management were aiming to illustrate a point of interest convergence, which could be seen from the HEI's perspective as beneficial for both parties. However, there was no guarantee that R3's individual career, as a Black woman in the academy would benefit or be furthered because of this arrangement (ECU 2015a).

### *Stereotypes*

A few of the participants in suddenly being categorised as race experts but seemingly not championed for anything else have achieved visibility. However, this visibility appears to be only contingent upon convergence with the interests of management and the White majority. R4 summarised:

If we are in a meeting and somebody says, “we are trying to address the BME group. We’re trying to raise the number of Black trainees, male or female.” Everyone looks at me as the holder of all wisdom and knowledge and I better have a solution. I look right back at them... and I’ll say, why are you all looking at me as if I am going to solve all the problems?...I feel that I have lived experiences particularly as a female that I can contribute but I also feel that people don’t feel it’s their responsibility...to deliver lectures on certain areas. If it’s to do with inclusion and diversity my name will be put up first. (R4, 9 Years; Education)

R4 made much of the fact that she had other experiences which could equally be relevant and of value but apparently she was only needed in areas to do with race, despite her also being a female. She appeared to be labelled as the expert on BME inclusion and diversity because of her ethnicity. This stereotype further perpetuated how Black women were being seen and by reason of their being Black were perceived as having better expertise on such matters thus allowing the White majority to avoid tackling racial issues. However, it is noted that they never seemed to be invited to champion issues to do with gender.

The next section examines some of the ways in which the reality of the HEIs’ policies of diversity management are being manifested and experienced in the academy.

### *4.4.2 Diversity realism and challenges*

Many of the participants felt how they were treated in the academy had much to do with the pace of change and awareness of cultural issues in their HEIs. There was evidence of dysconscious discrimination, conscious and unconscious bias, micro-politics and stereotypes formed around Black

women. Some of the participants held similar views stating that there was a need for management, colleagues, and students to exhibit better diversity awareness. A better awareness demonstrated of their HEI environment and in their approach to the treatment of differences in the academy. A few of the participants called for more action on educating academic staff on diversity issues and for this to be made a priority so better understanding and sensitivity awareness could be demonstrated by their White colleagues. For example:

I'm working with members of staff who are not aware of their behaviours... how they come across, the comments they make...I sit there thinking, I wonder if they realise because the person happens to be eloquent, outspoken and will speak out on behalf of herself and her colleagues does not make her aggressive? I know that that's how Black women are perceived, we can't be eloquent, we can't be outspoken, we can only be aggressive. (R17, 7 years, Health and Social Sciences)

This excerpt from R17 evidenced that sometimes insults and negative comments were made dysconsciously, giving the impression that this behaviour was normal to her colleagues. The stereotype of the Black woman as being aggressive simply for speaking out was one that seemed to be frequently questioned as if eloquence in articulation was not standard. Under the property rights tenet, such eloquence would not be expected and Black women would be perceived as being above their “proper social position” (Palmer Cook 2012:17). Such behaviour counters the notion that Black women must be viewed as mute objects (Casey 1993) unless there was a convergence of interest which favoured the White majority. A few of the other participants added to the debate to highlight the challenges they encountered:

I have even spoken to some of the heads of department, I've told them, I think my [White] colleagues need to go to some of these [training] programmes in terms of becoming more aware of other cultures. (R3, 17 years; Business)

We all need to educate ourselves. We all need to challenge our own beliefs, perceptions, stereotypes and not be defensive if someone challenges those. (R4, 9 Years; Education)

Many of the participants seemed to be increasingly frustrated that cultural incompetence and lack of diversity awareness despite the many initiatives around seemed lost on colleagues and management. There was the perception that the White majority staff seemed to have limited knowledge and exposure to minority ethnic staff and thus an understanding of their issues. Interestingly in the latter statement, R4 included “all”, in her assertion for education, not just White colleagues. R4 seemed to imply that she believed everyone needed to understand what was going on and it may be seen as an opportunistic intervention for all staff to hear and exchange experiences. In commenting about not being defensive, it was not clear whether she was in fact saying that Black women needed not to be defensive or if it related to the White majority staff in the academy.

A couple of the participants commented that cultural ignorance was evidenced in how some international students were treated for certain types of assessment and gaining access within HEIs:

If you think about our Chinese students, very few of them are comfortable in reflecting on themselves because it's seen as seeing yourself as more important than others. Trying to get them out of that mind-set, is [hard] work. Even UK students have difficulty with reflection actually, but culturally it's even more difficult for students



where you don't look at self, you look at community. (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

I had a row with the finance director. I told him he is discriminating against my delegates coming from the third world because of the [payment] system he has set up. You can only use it if you have a credit card for abroad. There wasn't any bank system...So I said to him, those are the third world countries, they might have a credit card, it might not work. He says, "oh well, if they can't pay they shouldn't come." I sent him an email and said, do you know you are discriminating against people in the other parts of the world? You claim we are an international university and we cannot take money internally? He wrote me back and apologised, but these are the things that are going on. (R9, 15 years; Business)

Both these participants had identified how students and potential fee-paying delegates seemed to be already classified as weak or inadequate because of cultural differences (which reject individual self-reflection) or inability to access western payment systems. In the second excerpt, there is evidence of dysconscious racism where it was expected that prevailing White and westernised standards must be accepted when making finance payments. Better appreciation of other cultures and their challenges when placed in a western cultural context appear to be lacking in many of these HEIs.

Even though universities are chasing international students and widening student participation, the examples recounted by the participants above suggested staff training in managing and respecting such varied cultures is seemingly not being given the right levels of attention if any at all in their respective HEIs. The second excerpt identified a senior manager who appeared oblivious to acknowledging diversity. For HEIs, it would appear that their diversity policies did not always embrace the diversity of students

and staff it was intended for which makes a fallacy of their policies. HR departments working with managers within HEIs need to initially address responsibility for diversity awareness and management. In the instances where HR feels such policies are being effective then this must be clearly evidenced. Conversely investigations need to be undertaken to understand the failings of ineffective policies or practice, especially when they no longer offer protection to the intended policy beneficiaries.

I interpret such inconsideration and inaction in response to equality and diversity issues to mean that these issues are not seen as relevant or important enough to HEIs. This is despite the commercialisation of the academy under new managerialism where the competition for international students and student satisfaction has become even more intensive.

The next section explores the ways in which interests can diverge.

### *4.4.3 Interest divergence*

Returning to R11's journey, there was evidence from this participant that management, in an act of attempted interest convergence were actually assisting in the perpetuation of divisiveness and the removal of collective collegiate behaviours. R11 reflected on her experience as part of a group of Black female academics intent on making a complaint against their HEI:

There was a few of us there at the time...and the same was happening to all of us so we decided why don't we get together and share our stories, which we did...and what the university did was very, very interesting. They plucked one of our [Black woman] colleagues, literally took her out and gave her a promotion. She came back and said, "I don't want to be part of this in terms of putting forward a complaint against the university." At the time the five of us

were going forward to put in a complaint against the university. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

I believe this is an example of interest divergence where it is imagined that some benefit might be accrued by the further marginalisation of this minority ethnic group (Gillborn 2013:137). Consequently, the divisions in the group had the potential to result in even further divergence instead of a convergence of interests. Such a strategy may position the White majority to regain their dominance.

This instance could also be interpreted under the CRT second tenet of property rights, and seen as a functional right of disposition (Harris 1993). In this situation the selected Black colleague was seen to be given a fully alienable right as a reward for conformity to White norms (Harris 1993). It was possible that this colleague now felt that she had been accepted by, and into the academy because she had been chosen and seemingly favoured in a positive way.

Such a means of selection makes me wonder whether this selected colleague now perceived herself to be different to the other Black women in the group and whether she was perhaps feeling a sense of Whiteness as a result of this experience. The university probably understood it was easier to impose their will if the group was fractured and in doing so preserved their right to rule in the academy and ensure their reputation remained intact.

Dividing groups in this way had the potential to counter any rebellion against institutional practices as HEIs attempt to remain largely homogenous. This selected colleague in order to survive in the academy had seemingly engaged in new managerialism behaviours without necessarily subscribing to the ideology (Williams et al 2012). In showing their power of divisiveness and continued subordination, management may have influenced a reduction to their strength in numbers within these

minority ethnic groups. I would assume that now having an outsider apparently on their side could be beneficial for the managers and the HEI.

Within this study, the strategy of favouritism, tokenism or simply isolating the Black woman appears to secure the self-interests of the academy. The White majority dominance is again preserved as they have been given the means to create further divisions and mistrust within those left in the group thus pre-empting the potential demise of opposing voices and suppressing future uprisings.

The next section explores the women's experiences of being mentors or role models.

#### *4.4.4 Being mentors and role models*

Many of the participants felt that they were expected to perform not just as mentors and coaches to students but also as counsellors and role models despite not being formally trained. Although this may be true for all academic staff under new managerialism, many of these participants felt as if their being matched was not a random act as they were specifically paired with Black students. According to Blake-Beard et al (2011), mentoring is useful to minority ethnic students for greater academic success. With the introduction of personal academic tutors in many HEIs this strategy it seems is made easier by pairing Black students with Black mentors. R7 remarked:

BME students' attainment figures are very bad therefore we are looking at other ways to maybe engage more BME lecturers to become like mentors to students...so rather than confronting them [Black students] I try to play a mentoring role and talk to them so that I can get a decent number of [Black] students in class. (R7, 13 years; Business)

The HEI apparently had used this approach to pairing to ensure higher levels of achievement and attendance. Pairing in this way would be of interest to the HEI in ensuring that student retention and engagement levels were maintained. It has been suggested that given society remains stratified by gender and race, it is not surprising to find that the HEIs believe that the same-race mentor-protégé pairs will produce the best results (Blake-Beard et al 2011).

Black students on our course...can identify with who we are and we identify with them and we have a good relationship that sometimes can be threatening to other [White] colleagues. It's because we connect in a different way. A lot of our students are Black women so I've got an extra pressure to be a role model for them. (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences)

R13 described making certain connections with Black students which other colleagues would not be able to do, making the staff-student relationship more constructive. Ortiz-Walters and Gilson (2005) state that sharing a similar ethnic background may create comfort and interpersonal attraction to the protégé. However, R13 appeared to feel that guiding/being a role model to other Black women became yet another burden for her to contend.

In role modelling, a more passive function (Scandura 1992, cited in Blake-Beard et al 2011), it would appear that a few of the participants had acknowledged that there was an expectation of guidance from the Black students in shaping their behaviours, values and attitudes in ways that White mentors would not be able to do (Blake-Beard et al 2011). Ethnically-matched guidance may nevertheless continue to perpetuate a racist view in keeping minority ethnic groups together and not exposing White mentors to diversity challenges. For the HEI this may be viewed as

a furtherance of own self-interests but not seen as part of their neo-liberal agenda to increase diversity awareness for all staff.

Whilst a few of the participants appeared to be deliberately ethnically matched with specific students, R14 reported being more diversely matched with students from other developing countries.

I'm a role model but not just to Black students but to White students as well. We have students coming from different countries. I might have Polish students come to me with issues because there is a similarity coming from developing countries that we can identify better with. They didn't have this at home and I didn't have that at home either; or their parents were very poor, my parents were very poor too. So sometimes we can identify with even other European students or students from other parts of the world; not necessarily with just the Black students. (R14, 17 years, Health and Social Sciences)

In embracing cross-race matching, R14 seemed to have identified that even though there may be surface-level differences with some White students for example differences in race-relations and stereotype expectations, there may be some shared experiences which provided common ground in establishing a successful mentor and protégé relationship (Ortiz-Walters and Gilson 2005). This participant on the face of it has recognised that the match should be between what the protégé needs and what the mentor can provide. Smith et al (2000) found no difference in the outcomes of matched or diversified pairs. The expectation and need of the protégé at the time becomes critical in forging a relationship for success (Blake-Beard et al 2011). This recognition must be used in making changes to widening diversity awareness and experiences within the academy.

Interestingly, in creating this divergent interest, the interest of the Black women may be better served in developing deeper connections not just with Black students but also with other students from developing countries. Thereby, being able to promote their roles and selves more positively in the academy and potentially raise their visibility.

#### *4.4.5 Section summary*

Issues of stereotyping have permeated this tenet and the participants' experiences. Stereotyping appeared to be common to them throughout the tenets already explored and would seem to be a common trait of new managerialism and its neo-liberalist policies. Black female academics appeared to be fit for specific purposes especially if it enabled the HEI to achieve reputational goals whilst exploiting the racial elements of their Black female academics.

The next section explores the intersections created for these women under new managerialism in the academy.

### **4.5 CRT Tenet: Intersectionality in the Academy**

This tenet accepts that it is too simple to ponder racial discrimination without consideration being made of other relevant characteristics such as gender or class. These other characteristics prove as important in shaping racial experiences and understanding of roles and self in the academy (Crenshaw 2001). It has been suggested by a number of authors that intersectionality is increasingly being seen as the means by which daily complexities can be captured and better explored and analysed (Shields 2008; Dill and Zambrana 2009; Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

Intersectionality is linked to an analysis of power, which works in subtle ways allowing for an understanding as to the ways in which intersectional differences carry significance (Cho et al 2013). Some of the participants demonstrated an understanding of the power dynamics in their respective institutions in the previous sections where power and politics were discussed. For example, R12 in particular stated that sisters (other Black women) must understand the politics present in HEIs in order to move forward; and R11 being told by her professor that what was happening to her was because of the politics around her being a Black woman. In these examples, race and gender intersect with institutional politics and power.

However, Tomlinson (2013), by contrast suggests that intersectionality is a matter of identity rather than power. Intersections between race, gender and age, have been captured in this study and I have explored and attempted to explain the consequences, vulnerabilities and significance of the differences raised as a result of these intersections. In this study, I have found that some of the participants were uncertain as to whether it is identification with their race, their gender or their age or two dimensions or three which really made a difference to their experiences of new managerialism in the academy. I begin by exploring discrimination intersections.

### *4.5.1 Intersections in the findings on discrimination*

It has been advocated that UK workplaces are generally less comfortable talking about race than they are age and gender (Race at work report 2015). It is therefore unsurprising that issues to do with race are not acknowledged in the same way as gender or age concerns. Many of the participants have reported on issues to do with race or have even attempted to remove race from the discussion by focusing on other areas such as their gender or age. In this section, the concerns they raised about being denied



fuller access to property in the academy and how they were perceived are highlighted. In some instances, they questioned what really was making the difference to their being denied more opportunities.

Through an intersectional analysis, I have found double binds at the junctions of race and gender and race and age. A double bind exists where the participants may feel twice as disadvantaged due to, for example, their race as well as their gender in not achieving benefits that might be given to White women or men (Morley and Walsh 1996; Mirza 1999; Conklin and Robbins-McNeish 2006). I have also identified a triple bind, which combines race, gender and age which may have the result of increasing their levels of discrimination three-fold.

A few of the participants felt that the Black woman's burden was always greater and this may be as a consequence of experiencing these compounded binds within their HEI environment. R11 summed up this feeling making additional reference to her rain analogy:

Everyone is getting wet, but I'm really getting so wet that I can't even continue being under this rain. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

R11 has acknowledged that everyone had now been affected by new managerialism changes but the impact upon her as a Black woman appeared much greater and her limits under these binds were being reached.

The next section looks more specifically at issues raised by the women as a result of the double bind of race and gender.

#### *4.5.2 Double bind of race and gender*

It has been suggested that race and racism has more gravitas than sex(ism) because of its consequences (Bryan et al 1985) and because a person's non-white colour is more readily seen and noticed than their gender. This double jeopardy of being Black and female can appear to mean facing discrimination on two fronts simultaneously. Even though many of the participants described their challenges as Black women it was becoming evident that many of the issues being raised placed a greater emphasis on their skin colour rather than their gender. For example, R2 in not being included in her HEI's promotional material talked about her colour followed by her facial appearance; R7, in discussing her experiences in the classroom with students reported back on being Black, then a woman and then a Black woman; later referring to Black women as people of colour; R3 talked about being treated a certain way because she was Black; the token Black.

Although Black women are considered as outsiders in the academy (Puwar 2004) and the study participants experienced themselves as such, in having a focus on gender as a generic category would have obscured this study's emphasis on Black women (Aisenberg and Harrington 1988; Jones 2006). The issues that these participants have identified as gender challenges may actually have been preventing or concealing issues of race being identified. For example:

If you were looking after staff as well as students, certain things would be ignored so you had to find yourself pushing. Now it could be because I was a woman, because my boss had that as a woman. She had endorsement from the dean to get things done but I didn't have that. I had to...go on the ground to talk to people in order to get things done to establish my credibility. (R15, 15 years, Business)

This participant in her role as a principal lecturer may have had greater challenges presented to her because of her gender. Interestingly in commenting that her female boss had similar issues she seemed to conclude that it was an issue to do with gender. The academy appears to be one area in which men and masculinity are locked into one another in ways that seem to exclude or marginalise women (Knights and Richards 2003). At no time did R15 surmise that it could be because of her race why she was ignored and placed herself in the same category as her White female boss. Yet, in previous sections, R15 had talked about being put down and told to stay down; managers not caring about diversity as well as the back-stabbing from her White colleagues. It appeared that she remained uncertain or in denial about the cause of (racial) discriminatory behaviour by others in the academy.

It might be reasonable to assume that women in the academy would have greater protection from discrimination because they are greater in numbers collectively than minority ethnic staff. As a result, research indicated that Black women are more likely to fall in the cracks between being a woman and being Black and remain more invisible as gender in HEIs is still seen as a White woman's issue and race as a Black male issue (Mirza 2007; Harris 1990; Crenshaw 1989). Much of the mainstream theories on feminism have a strong focus on gender differences thereby ignoring the differences such as ethnicity between women (Ludvig 2006; Brown 2012; Bhopal 2016). This failure of feminism to seemingly interrogate race may mean that Black women are likely to be further subordinated as strategies for resistance are focused mainly on the experiences of White women (Yuval-Davis 2006).

Many of the participants seem to acknowledge that the system would never be fair in recognising them or rewarding them and that the academy was really the preserve of White middle class males (Mirza 2008; Wright et al 2007; Brown 2012).

Things don't run in academia on meritocracy...the system is the system, always turns out the same result no matter what process they have...when they have done all their analysing...the system turns out who has won this process, White male. (R5, 11 years; Business and Economics)

R5 made it quite clear that the academy was seemingly not as race and gender neutral or indeed as meritocratic as it perpetuated to be as the outcome was always the same. This fallacy of neutrality would seem to imply that the rules and processes within HEIs hide the real ways in which exclusion is supported. R11 summed up the challenges she had faced:

There was a lot of personal and overt attack of me as a woman and of me as a Black woman. More so as a Black woman: being passed for promotion, being put into very high expectations...that I am not doing enough...that I am too challenging because I question. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

R11 referred to her attacks being both subjective and open. Earlier in this study, I described the use of monkey imagery as an overt and deliberate example of racism towards R11. Such racial insults differ greatly to simple insults as the wound is often intended to be deeper (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). R11 described her experiences initially through her gender lens but later emphasised it was "more so as a Black woman" in making it clear that it was her race that made the significant difference.

In looking inward, R11 was operating at two established sites of oppression and each factor could be disadvantaging her discretely or additively (Delgado and Stefancic 2012:57). It would seem that the Black woman academic is: twice as invisible in the academy being Black and being a woman; more likely to be stretched in terms of expectations on both counts of race and gender; less likely to achieve in the same way as White men;

more likely to be culturally stereotyped and more likely not to be sponsored in the same way as White others through their academic careers.

These disadvantages reveal the myriad ways in which this participant seems to be oppressed. However, it appears that she is being discriminated against more significantly because of her race. Placing an emphasis on both gender and race simultaneously seems to imply that there are challenges at times in separating this double bind as they appear to be tightly interwoven which may result in conflicts in the participants' prioritising their commitment to either their race or to their gender (Bonner 2001; Maylor 2009).

### *Double binds in progression opportunities*

It appeared that many of these participants feel doubly disadvantaged by both their race and gender in not achieving the benefits such as pay and promotion accrued to White women in the academy (Conklin and Robbins-McNeish 2006; ECU 2009, 2015). It seemed that the goal posts were twice removed for these participants, so achievement was even more unlikely. This level of high discrimination is not unusual for Black women and faced with many kinds of biases, Black female academics remain under-represented at higher levels within HEIs (UCU 2012a; ECU 2015a, b). R12 recalled:

There is probably one person who is a Black woman I can recall in a senior position in the current organisation whereas before there was no one in senior management and its disproportionate and you have to ask yourself...is that because we only have skills up to a certain level?... is it not understanding the politics of what's going? (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences)

This participant began to question whether it was about skilled competence as opposed to race or gender. This is not surprising as this

participant in previous sections identified more closely with the politics embedded within HEIs as opposed to other reasons behind discrimination being perpetuated. However, I would argue that in making these assertions about politics in the academy it appeared that racism became more endemic because it could be used politically and micro-politically.

A number of authors have suggested that academic females' attainments are lesser than those of their male colleagues in the sense that they hold lower academic positions; receive lower salaries and are promoted at a slower pace with only a small proportion reaching the top of the academic hierarchy (Long and Fox 1995; Gibbons 1992; Zuckerman 1991). R11 again best summarised this experience:

If we give you the job as the acting head of department, what are you going to do with your role as the principal lecturer and the portfolio lead?...That was the last question. Bearing in mind that my colleague [White male] who was also interviewed was not a portfolio lead I knew straight away that that question could not have been posed to him. Later on they rang me and said they were really sorry they could not give me the job. (R11, 19 years, Health and Social Sciences)

It was not clear whether this outcome was determined because of race, gender, politics or some other factor. It would seem that in assessing R11 for this role it became more complicated for her to succeed because of her existing job as a principal lecturer, which would not be an issue for her colleague. It has been suggested that goal posts for promotion are seemingly blurred for Black women in the academy (ECU 2015a). In this situation, she was asked a question in order to assess her suitability knowing that her colleague could not be asked the same. Interestingly, she would have stated her current position on her application form, so this was known information, which still qualified her to be interviewed. Yet the interviewers decided to ask questions that would have no bearing on the

new job to seemingly eliminate her from the process. This question could be viewed as indicative of an unfair process of selection.

Several of the participants felt that the criteria for their progression or even promotion was usually clear enough in print but often vague in a face to face situation where the requirement would seemingly shift away from suitability and eligibility and no feedback given when requested. Arya (2012) suggests that when the Black woman is confronted with adversity and attempts to overcome hurdles the narrative becomes one of struggle in their attempt to find meaning to their experiences and their approaches taken. This continuous struggle, I believe, could prove wearing upon their well-being and self-esteem.

Some of the participants remarked that men were more favoured when it came to teaching assignments:

Even if you have the same qualifications as a White male, he is more likely to get given a choice of modules he would want to teach for the semester before you are given anything. (R7, 13 years; Business)

This occurrence may be because of the dominance of masculine norms and values in academic production as suggested by Knights and Richards (2003). A few of the participants felt that their progression was stifled in the academy:

After being here for that long and for the level of experience that I have, I probably should have had more career opportunities within this place. (R2, 11 years; Business)

Many of these participants mentioned feeling under-valued and not always taken seriously. It was difficult to conclude whether this was because of their race or gender or because of some other factor. The literature on Black feminism (for example, Childers and hook 1990; Arya 2012), implies that even though the collective reality of Black women can be shared, their

experiences of oppression will not all be the same. Even though race and gender may be indicators of shared background, experiences of Black women and their own personality characteristics are sufficiently varied that it should not be assumed that individuals would be more empathetic because they have gender or race in common (Blake-Beard et al 2011). Seemingly, many of the participants have become more cognisant of the intersections of their gender with their race, however, race it seems, remains the more significant difference in their experiences.

The next section explores the participants' experiences of the double bind of race and age.

### *Double bind of race and age*

The double bind of being Black and young was being felt by a few of the participants. In being denied further opportunities for progression, a few of the participants were subject to ageist comments as opposed to race or gender remarks. Discriminating against age seems to be less emotionally charged and perceived by the participants as less serious than being overtly racist or sexist. Some of the participants seem to think that age discrimination was used as a safer option. For example R5 reported:

You're only quite young...I think that's the least they seem to think...but what can they verbalise? Can't say you're too Black? What they gonna tell me? I'm too Black? I couldn't go to another university and start that process again. I would have to build up my whole reputation again. I would have to knock against them doors, you're too young, you're too Black. (R5, 11 years; Business and Economics)

R5's comments are illustrative of age intersecting with ethnicity. However, this participant recognised that it is not her age that is the issue but her ethnicity. It would seem that age has become the preferred and safer option



for the White majority staff in ensuring that these participants remain as outsiders. R5 acknowledged that to start again in a different HEI would simply mean going through these struggles yet again.

You gave the best interview, but R5 you have to do your time, you haven't been here long enough. We can't give you this position. You would be managing quite senior people in the department. (R5, 11 years; Business and Economics)

There are several issues raised in this quote. Firstly, R5 is praised for giving the best interview but is not successful in securing the job. This really runs counter to the whole purpose of the interview in finding the most suitable person for the role and questions HR's involvement in this process. Secondly, eleven years in the academy may indeed be a reasonable period to become fully immersed in HEI activities to be able to execute work to a good level. Their suggesting that she had to do her time, raises questions as to how much more time would be acceptable and why length of service came with a guarantee of better performance. The fact that it was stated that she would be managing senior staff should not be seen as an issue in an age-diverse environment and is common in many organisational types as the academic workforce in the UK ages (CIPD 2012). It appeared that R5, in being considered "quite young", by managers was seen as not capable of commanding authority (Harris 1993; Delgado and Stefancic 2012) and/or being in authority over staff in senior positions; thereby reinforcing CRTs infantilisation perspective. Both statements made by R5 would seemingly contradict the academy's: age, gender and race neutral stance and their promotion of meritocracy. It would be interesting to know what this HEI had recorded as fair reasons for not selecting this applicant.

A number of participants reported subtle forms of racism being demonstrated and coded-language used to justify denial of progression opportunities. This denial of opportunity could ensure that no real changes

were made in the academy and that the status quo remained the same. Another participant commented:

The dean said, "I don't see why you could not apply it's a position available and you should be looked at." The head of department said, "I think she's too young." Very quickly the dean, almost in a panic said, "I do not think it is legal for you to actually say that to R2 because she is eligible to apply." (R2, 11 years; Business)

It would be interesting to know whether other candidates would have been considered in a similar way. R2 is a participant in her late thirties and had spent eleven years in the academy, her profile and experience being quite similar to R5's. This opportunity would have represented a promotion to a senior lecturer position yet her head of department was apparently unwilling to support her application. As a result, it raises questions as to whether this really was about being too young or was something else the real issue? In denying Black women opportunities for progression it does not enable or give them a chance to prove themselves as capable of performance at higher levels.

My findings have shown that these academics are not further forward in terms of prospects, promotions or progression. Many of the participants appeared to come quite close but never close enough it seems in achieving their ambition of promotion or enhanced job security. Instead, there appeared to be a number of undisclosed reasons, early elimination from processes and inequality of opportunities preventing their progression. As a result, it looked like some of these participants have accepted that their race is the reason preventing their progression in the academy. Age, is not the significant difference in their experiences of discrimination in the academy.

The next section combines race and gender and age in a triple bind to the experiences of the participants.

#### *4.5.3 Triple bind of race, gender and age*

The triple bind of discrimination was identified by a few of the participants as areas seemingly creating three times as many reasons for their exclusion in the academy.

Age was quite significant for me because there was a very big gap between those who were already here, who were more middle aged and so it wasn't just about my ethnicity and the fact that I was a woman. (R2, 11 years; Business)

In the classroom, you have to establish credibility because most of them are White middle class women...You are coming in as a Black woman and I look young...for some reason it takes a while for you to establish credibility. (R15, 15 years, Business)

In introducing age to both race and gender, it seemed that establishing credibility very early on as well as understanding the politics as to how power was being used became important to the participants in overcoming discrimination. R2 acknowledged the composition of the academy as belonging to older White men and R15 introduced a class element in describing the women she taught. R15 was perhaps not seen as coming from a similar middle class background, despite her perhaps being more qualified than these students. It would seem that students played a part in perpetuating Black women's subjugation in the academy and added to the systemisation of racism in the academy.

In remarking that for some reason, it took her a while to establish her credibility, R15 placed all three factors (age, gender and race) as possible reasons why it took her a longer time. The compounded effect of having two additional areas to overcome could prove to be more stressful than battling with just a single point of discrimination. If the agenda for diversity continues to focus only on single issues at a time, I believe the policies

and derived strategies will be incapable of developing solutions to the compounded marginalisation of Black female academics, who continue to fall into the void between concerns about women's issues, ageism and racism.

#### *4.5.4 Section summary*

In discussing the binds presented as a result of race, gender, age and even class, many of the participants it would seem were becoming weary of the continuous struggle to demonstrate credibility in the eyes of other academy staff and students. Almost all the participants had experienced varying levels of discrimination at these intersections, reflecting the assumption that they were clearly out of place in this setting and still seen as trespassers, despite having the qualifications to be deemed as insiders (Wright et al 2007; Mirza 2008; Bhopal 2014; ECU 2015a). The significant difference throughout these binds appeared to be race.

An intersectional lens was also useful in highlighting how some identity dimensions of difference, such as age and gender or race and gender intersect. Intersectionality implied that no identity characteristics should have greater weight or play a greater role in someone's experiences, but in the case of the participants in this study, gender had more significance for some, whereas for others, they identified race as a major contributor. With regard to the gendered intersectional experiences it would appear that in being discriminated against, it was preferable for the discriminators to focus on age and gender in that order, rather than race. Consequently, it appears that it may be easier and more preferable for others guilty of discriminatory practices to be labelled ageist or sexist, rather than racist.

I can therefore identify intersectionality in the academy for these participants as being structural because their experiences can be construed

as qualitatively different to that of White colleagues (Cho et al 2013). This is evidenced in terms of their combating both latent and overt institutional barriers such as culture, attitude and behaviour in order to progress in the academy. There is evidence of political intersectionality whereby the participants remain marginalised as a result of being stereotyped, being Black, being women or being perceived as being too young.

### **4.6 Chapter Conclusion**

This chapter set out to explore the ways in which new managerialism was being experienced by the participants in this study from a CRT perspective as well as how their professional identities were being affected as a result of new managerialism in the academy. Using this framework, I aimed to provide explanations as to why their experiences were different to the White majority in the academy and as a result, how it impacted their academic roles and their sense of self.

The changes in the political and economic environment in England has impacted the HEI sector and has created the context in which new managerialism thrives despite the paucity of evidence with regards to its effectiveness, its success or its impact on front line staff. There has been evidence of discrimination and inequalities, micro-aggression and overt scrutiny as the White majority ensures that they maintain the balance of power. HEI's neo-liberalist systems have intersected race and the very reason why these systems were set up now seems to be the reason why they do not work. This may have been the intention all along in suppressing minority ethnic workers.

In exploring the participants' responses to new managerialism, experiences of overt as well as subtle and coded forms of racism have surfaced as significant issues in stifling the acceptance, development and

progression of Black women in the academy. Covert agents such as students are being used for surveillance alongside academic managers and their colleagues to ensure their subjugated position in the academy, furthering White majority rule. Consequently, these Black women have experienced anguish, hostility, weariness and remain uncertain about their roles, expectations placed on their performance and their place and future in the academy.

Previous attempts at application of CRT in (school) education or leadership (for example Yosso 2005; Horsford 2010; Capper 2015) have attempted to neatly place discussions and findings in separate CRT tenets. My discussion of these findings has begun to challenge the ease at which this can be done. Exploring the complexities of race means that there is scope for many of the issues found to be interpreted in different ways, hence categorised into more than one tenet area. This overlapping of tenet areas may create blurring of the original tenet lines and suggests the likely creation of larger tenet categories or the emergence of many smaller sub-tenet categories within existing tenet areas for future application in higher education.

In using their voices to tell their own stories, these participants have begun to raise a challenging response to stereotypes and racist messages that are embedded in the psyche of others in the academy. Challenges are being made to the effectiveness of the equality and diversity policies formulated to apparently protect their interests at work.

Many of these participants have articulated similarities as well as variances in their experiences which have been based on for example, the culture prevalent within their university and their department; the behaviour and attitude of colleagues and students and even childhood recollections. In sharing their experiences they have articulated their struggles and strategies.

The participants have sought to raise their visibility often through over-performance and qualification for greater credibility and acceptance in the academy. They have become mentors and role models to other Black women and students to ensure that the real stories of the academy can be told and heard. They have garnered support for each other through establishing out of work groups and creating a sense of sisterhood.

I have noticed in this study issues to do with gender seemingly affected more of the participants from the Business and Law faculties than it did those participants from the Health faculties who highlighted concerns to do with race much more than gender. This could be a reflection of the predominantly female composition of areas such as nursing and health (59% females) compared to a more male orientation of business schools (58% males) (HESA 2016b).

In exploring intersectionality, there is concern however, it often takes a collection of many voices to be heard and oppressions are multiple and cross-cut in different ways. In wanting to change something as embedded as race then “everything must change at once” (Delgado and Stefancic 2012:64), otherwise the institution absorbs the small advances made and things regress to how they previously were.

In the next and final chapter of the study, the findings are briefly summarised and conclusions are drawn. Implications for research policy and practices are discussed as well as suggestions for future research areas made. The final chapter also summarises the contribution of the study.

## **5. STUDY OUTCOMES AND CONCLUSIONS**

In undertaking this study, I aimed to explore the lived experiences of Black female academics as they worked through the surge of new managerialism practices within the academy. Since their experiences remained largely uncollected and therefore not recorded in the literature, I had to determine, once collected, how I was going to establish and make sense of the information found.

I found significant racial issues beneath their experiences of new managerialism, the extent of which proved shocking. This was an aspect of new managerialism not encountered in the literature. The racism encountered was direct and unpleasant and some of their descriptions quite emotive to write about. Many of the women had experienced discrimination in overt, subtle, common and repeated ways. I was subsequently able to explore and analyse these experiences using a critical race theory (CRT) framework. Application of the framework provided greater interpretive insight and better understanding of the effect of new managerialism on their roles and their sense of self in the academy.

In this final chapter, I have drawn together the main findings and conclusions derived from this study and explained how my research questions have been addressed. I have evaluated the limitations of the study as well as explored and discussed the implications of the findings. Consequently, I have considered areas for future research and identified my contribution to the field. Lastly, the chapter ends with a closing reflection of my journey through this study.



## 5.1 Study Questions and Summary of Findings

Chapter one provided the rationale and background for this study and identified the research questions to be addressed in this study as:

1. How has new managerialism been experienced by Black female academics in English post-1992 universities?
2. How has new managerialism influenced the way in which Black women view themselves as professionals in the academy?

The findings from my study are broadly in harmony with many of the researchers who have identified the negative effect of new managerialism in education (Wood 2007; Fanghanel 2012; Gibson et al 2015; Marini and Reale 2015). In not reporting fully on its impact, the struggles faced by academics and more specifically Black women academics of African and Caribbean heritage were undocumented. This study has highlighted similar challenges faced by these participants in terms of greater accountabilities, changes in the collegiality deal as well as the impact of students as customers. The following sections address each of the research questions.

### 5.1.1 *Research question one*

#### ***How has new managerialism been experienced by Black female academics in English post-1992 universities?***

In exploring the literature, it became evident that managers saw new managerialism as a means of exerting tighter control over resources whilst staff saw it as a means of harsher control (Kolsaker 2008; Fanghanel 2012; Lorenz 2012; Graham 2015). Consequently, there were increased surveillance strategies implemented; restrictions made on their autonomy, academic freedom and voice with greater levels of stress experienced.

(Jones 2003; Kolsaker 2008; Fanghanel 2012; Lorenz 2012; UCU 2012; Graham 2015).

The findings and discussion in chapter four, revealed that the participants in this study had endured similar issues to those stated above. New managerialism posed real challenges to all academics not just to Black women. However, the point of differentiation between this study and others became evident when race discrimination linked to new managerialism practices began to emerge. These Black women had endured experiences under new managerialism that White academics could not have undergone by virtue of their colour.

The application of CRT identified overt and subtle accounts of racism which revealed a different side to the academy and its neo-liberalist policies, adding an extra and unseen dimension to new managerialism. Despite the inherent personal and institutional differences between these participants, many of the same themes emerged from their experiences.

Racism was happening as a normal way of life in the respective HEIs despite the HEIs' neo-liberal boasts of equity, fairness and meritocracy. The frequency and depth of racism experienced implied that racism was endemic, persistent and routinely perpetuated as indicated by several CRT theorists (for example, Crenshaw 1988; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Delgado and Stefancic 2001; López 2003; Capper 2015; Bhopal 2016). The participants reported little evidence of remedies or further actions taken to address their complaints of unfair treatment which raised additional questions about their depth of voice and managerial responsibility for action. New managerialism was a means by which discrimination was being compounded in the academy, creating additional difficulty and challenges to their prevailing double jeopardy of being Black and being female.

In using a CRT framework, it was possible to explore and present the participants experiences of new managerialism in a racially critical way. The different CRT tenets/lenses allowed a spotlight to be shone on the varied ways in which racism was being experienced by the Black female academics. I was able to see overlaps and junctions between the tenets such as Whiteness as property overlapping with interest convergence which also overlapped with the critique of liberalism, allowing information to be interpreted in different ways (Harris 1995; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Gillborn 2013; Ladson-Billings 2013; ECU 2015). Subsequently, a more in-depth understanding and perspectives of the racial issues was built up as I became more accustomed to using the framework. Issues I may have missed but was suddenly able to see better through each lens. However, I realised that CRT could not be used as neatly as suggested by Horsford (2010) and Capper (2015), in analysing complex racial issues experienced by the participants under new managerialism as it was challenging to confine racial issues within single tenets.

In addressing the first research question I have selected areas under the tenets explored, to demonstrate how new managerialism and its neo-liberal policies have proven contradictory in allowing racism to persist unimpeded in the academy.

### *Racism is endemic within the academy*

Little progress has been made on equality and diversity issues resulting in all the participants experiencing racism at work (Ahmed 2012; *THE* University Workplace survey 2015; Bhopal 2016). BME numbers have reduced as the academy grows, making it more difficult for their voices to be heard (ECU 2015a). This has reduced the opportunities for other HEI staff and students to understand diversity issues and for Black women to be consulted on ideas for equality and diversity improvement and action. It

appeared that new managerialism and its persistent changes only served to promote discrimination, worsening their academic lives.

Overt and direct racism was clearly evident in the findings. The participants reported offensive imagery and statements, such as monkey drawings, accompanied by the words, “go away, what you are doing here?” (R11, 19 years; Health and Social Sciences) being made routinely (Ozbilgin and Tatli 2011). The refusal of some staff to accept diversity in the workplace could potentially lead to greater divergence of the academic workforce. However, by increasing staff diversity there is a greater likelihood that student diversity would increase (Subeliani and Tsogas 2005). Conversely, in driving out minority ethnic staff, there is likely to be a reciprocal impact on minority ethnic students and policies for widening participation.

Treating all staff equitably remained a fallacy for many participants. Racism was sensed and recognised in their HEIs, “in the manner they speak to you” (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences), in dominant ways, or simply humiliated in the workplace. Black women were excluded from meetings, decision-making and progression opportunities and were made to feel like second-class citizens.

In countering direct racism, participants were reminded that their race was noticed first then their gender, “you are a Black woman... you are Black...also Black African” (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences). As a result, Black women in the health faculty reported being expected to undertake low-skilled, unpleasant work such as simply cleaning patients and were expected not to rise above this position, “... as long as you are ...wiping peoples’ bottoms ...where Black people should be” (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences). This racism filtered back to the participants via Black students who were also reminded of their place, for

example, “Black nurses?...we expect you to be permanent ...British bum cleaners” (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences). These statements are derogatory, subjugating and disrespectful and negates race as being protected in the academy. The effect on the participants was disbelief and anger.

This form of racism was also identified as a property right position (Harris 1993) which dysconsciously (King 2004) establishes the role of Black academics at the bottom of the institution, reflective of the ‘Guinness effect’, as stated by a participant: “Why aren’t there enough of us in senior management positions?” (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences). Conversations need to be opened up by managers, HR staff and the recipients exploring these comments and behaviour as a first step to confronting these views. However, it remains unclear to whom these behaviour and comments are being reported and consequently could be contributing to embedding racism within the respective HEIs (Ahmed 2012; Palmer Cook 2012; Warmington 2012; Bhopal 2016).

More covert racism was experienced in a variety of ways. The absence of Black women at senior levels in HEIs reinforced the ‘Guinness effect’ being very high. The denial of equal and fair progression constituted a violation of their rights to progression opportunities. However, progression issues reminded them of their exclusion and was seen as a deliberate means by their HEIs of maintaining racial inequalities, “promotion is difficult...a strategy ...to keep us down” (R10, 16 years; Business). The challenges of lack of promotion were viewed as a planned strategy for their suppression despite their wealth of qualifications and experiences. From the Black women’s perspectives, in being denied promotion opportunities, they felt it became easier for the White majority staff to use ageism over racism as reasons for Black staff inability to progress to senior positions (Harris 1993; Delgado and Stefancic 2012; UCU 2012a; ECU2015a).

The property tenet suggested that Black women were not capable of commanding authority (Puwar 2004; Mirza 2006b; Delgado and Stefancic 2012), hence any senior role would be difficult for them to occupy and perform. Stereotyping Black women in this way ensures that the pipeline for Black women remains blocked and the stereotype maintained as long as there is no desire for change from the White majority (Cunningham 2000; Creegan et al 2003; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

The use of 'dog-whistle' politics (Palmer Cook 2012), made racism more difficult to detect, harder to prove and easier by the whistlers to use and deny. The ready use of the term 'you people' (by White colleagues), suggested that there was a distinct difference between people in the academy and it was often framed in a derogatory way. This was especially true when others declared that completing a PhD was not for *you people* and in stating that *you people* all want letters after your names. This form of racism is deliberate and conscious. However, whistlers would claim that their racism was exhibited unconsciously, asserting that the behaviour the recipient received was not what was meant or indeed intended (Haney López 2014; Rocco et al 2014). Whistling allowed more subtle applications of racism to emerge and the whistler found not guilty as the academy trivialises or fails to interpret and address coded racist inferences.

Scrutiny of both intelligence and performance were issues subject to endemic racism as well as being perceived as property rights (Harris 1993) of White staff and so was classified as outside the capabilities of Black academics. In order to refute this assertion, "...Black woman's ...research...shatter this image of ...only White people...with new ideas" (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences), and to maintain their sense of self and belonging in the academy many of the participants pursued and acquired PhDs to prove that they were in fact insiders. However, having a PhD was found to make no difference to their being promoted or

progressed. Neither did it confirm their automatic access as Black women to academy resources or privileges.

The idea that Black academic females were capable of developing new ideas shattered the academy's expectation of their position and capability (Warmington 2012) and was thus viewed as threatening to the status quo. Under performance or poor performance was colour-coded if it could be attached to a Black woman's performance, "they colour code the bad things...if you fail as a black person...more of a big deal" (R10, 16 years; Business). As a result, participants over-performed to protect themselves, "I put in 200%... because I am Black..." (R3, 17 years; Business), as well as protecting their reputation and their employment status (Mirza 2008; ECU 2015a). However, White colleagues were not subject to the same levels of examination with issues of their under-performance going unnoticed and links to their colour never made.

Students were seen as valuable commodities and their importance afforded them more power and rights to expect greater accountability from academics and apparently challenge the presence of Black women (Boyd 2012; Fanghanel 2012). Students demanded information in relation to the participants' qualifications, subject knowledge and teaching experience, "What makes you qualified to speak to us?" (R4, 9 years; Education), which reinforced the participants' sense of being trespassers (Mirza 2008). This intrusion and demand for accountability was seen as specifically directed at minimising and undermining their presence as Black women (Harris 1993). It appears, such challenges were not made to their White colleagues.

The use of students as covert surveillance agents by HEIs left many of the participants feeling particularly vulnerable. They were frequently and deliberately wrongly identified, "we couldn't remember the other lecturer's

name” (R3, 17 years; Business), and therefore blamed. This behaviour by students was apparently supported and seen as tolerable by White academics. The participants in my study believed that they were both homogenised and stereotyped by students (Yuval-Davis 2006; Syed et al 2011).

However, there was evidence in the findings of low racial realism where a few participants took a colour-blind perspective. They perceived the academy to be neutral on issues of race, gender and age (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Ledesma and Calderón 2015; Bhopal 2016), and subsequently denied that racism existed in the academy, “can’t say ...my race has got in the way...unless I am blind” (R12, 22 years; Health and Social Sciences). A few participants felt that to place race in the spotlight as an issue removed the focus from institutional politics as the real barrier to progression. However, contradictions were later made by these participants, which seemingly left no other factor than race being the reason for their lack of success. This was apparent for example, in attempting to acquire employment contracts, which are considered a tangible under new property and not readily available to outsiders.

Their denial of racism raises the question, whether race discrimination is deeply embedded in the academy to the point that those most affected have become de-sensitised to discriminatory comments, remarks or behaviour (Ladson-Billings 1998). Nevertheless, this may be their survival strategy, where an assimilated self is constructed in the hope of being better accepted into the academy by agreeing with the White majority, that racism is not present.



*Whiteness as property*

White colleagues to the exclusion of non-Whites, appeared to be defending academic property and space. These participants observed differences applied to their physical and emotional spaces, i.e. being seen as trespassers or simply made silent, invisible or placed on the periphery of the academy. Many felt that they were still trespassers where knowledge, power and access rights were vested in the White majority and could only be obtained if favoured (Harris 1993; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

Designated work-space was hard to come by for a few or racial space given in common pairings with other Black colleagues. Despite their being few in numbers it appeared that, they were always placed together because they had *things in common*. This could be seen as a way of having a designated area for Black women, so their restricted area is clearly defined.

Corridor space appeared to be sacred, and was observed as an unusual place for Black female academics to be and therefore, they thought they were perceived as unusual, out of place, creating uncomfortable or threatening situations for others (i.e. White male staff), “Black women having a conversation...an uncomfortable situation for White people...some kind of threat” (R11, 19 years; Health and Social Sciences). A double-take often occurring when observed in certain academic areas. Thus, feelings of always being on the periphery or just a number were experienced, “I’m ... an outsider... just a number” (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing) leading to insecurities compounded by their colour.

Their marginalisation extended to being mute voices in meetings where presence was expected but their contribution was not recognised unless re-stated by a White colleague, “you...raise that point and it goes

unnoticed....your White counterpart raises same point...what a brilliant idea” (R3, 17 years; Business). Assumptions were made about their being the student when in the company of White older male students. This sense of marginalisation led to further feelings of invisibility (Mirza 2006a; 2009; ECU 2009, 2015a; Arya 2012) as images of a Black woman for a university marketing publication to recruit students were blocked in favour of a White male image. Resultant frustration led to their assuming more passive roles, as being exposed or noticed sometimes worsened their situation.

Drawing on CRT perspectives, to retain and maintain property rights by the White majority, divisiveness was used to split Black groups and departments to advocate compliance to White norms. Their rights to enjoyment and use have been frustrated by the White majority right to exclude (Harris 1993). The *Whitening* of the academy is thus seen as a means to only protect the property interests of the White majority. In being marginalised and seen as trespassers, their voices and perspectives remain hidden and diversity in action remains untransformed (Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

#### *Interest convergence*

Equality and diversity gestures were not distinctly owned or inclusive enough and remained an empathic fallacy within HEIs (Gillborn 2006b, Gillborn 2013; Ahmed 2012; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). The preference was for short-term bursts of diversity with no measure of impact or help for those in need. Where redress for failings is given, it is publicised to show the strong stance taken by the HEI but further action proving to be short term and incremental representing no actual change. How a university defines diversity and its importance must be explicit so there is no doubt about who and what issues are included. For equality and diversity policies to be more effective and long term, their goals must be pronounced clearly

and enduring change established ensuring both parties have a convergence of interests (Cunningham 2000; Williams et al 2005; Ahmed 2009, 2012; Bhopal 2016).

Tokenism was identified as participants recognised that their race was being useful exploited (Puwar 2004) by the HEI for international recruitment, “information on recruiting students from Africa...they called me” (R2, 11 years; Business). However, visibility was briefly achieved by the participant but only to fulfil the specific interest of the academy. Where the focus was on widening the participation of Black students, Black women were stereotyped as experts in these areas (Mirza 2006a; Johnson 2008; Delgado and Stefancic 2012), “we’re trying to raise the numbers of Black trainees...everyone looks at me” (R4, 9 years; Education).

In making these suggestions, it appeared that the White majority staff exhibited both conscious and unconscious racism as comments were made about the natural suitability of Black women with little consideration to how their behaviours or comments impacted. However, where these women undertook roles as mentors or role models this alliance with same race student was perceived as threatening (Blake-Beard et al 2011).

However, interest divergences were evident when the HEI needed to break up collective voices of Black academics (Harris 1993), separating them from each other with the offer of individual reward, “they...took her out and gave her a promotion...she said...don’t want to ...forward a complaint against the university” (R11, 19 years; Health and Social Sciences). Such action eroded trust between Black colleagues and weakened their strength of collective voices.

### *Intersectionality*

Race constituted the most significant difference in this study. However, there were systems of oppression intersecting as a result of race, gender and age whilst simultaneously facing the oppressive challenges of new managerialism (Crenshaw 1991). In homogenising Black women (by White staff and students), these intersections are not seen and their differences ignored.

The meritocratic view of the academy of being colour-blind or even gender and age-neutral furthers the stereotypes and places the focus on single issues rather than dual issues, “you’re only young...can’t say you’re too Black” (R5, 11 Years; Business and Economics). Having a focus on single issues such as race or gender then removes the complexity of Black women as a composite of more than one factor (Lykke 2011). As a result, there remains a perpetuation of difference segregation in diversity policies which ignores the complexity of double-binds (Crenshaw 1991). Moving beyond acknowledging awareness to valuing differences and the combination of differences is necessary to eliminate the pervasiveness of racism at the intersections (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Cho et al 2013; Carbado 2013).

### *Racism under new managerialism*

Racism still happens under new managerialism for a number of reasons. Race as a protected characteristic from discrimination is apparently not upheld in the academy because unacceptable and racist behaviour is minimised or ignored (Macpherson 1999; Subeliani and Tsogas 2005; Gillborn 2006b; Ahmed 2009, 2012). There appears to be no or negligible consequences, which encourages repeat behaviour. Accordingly, there seems to be marginal desire for change demonstrated by the White majority (Cunningham 2000; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016; Van Bueren 2016).

Critical diversity challenges neo-liberal understanding of diversity, however neo-liberalism appears to remain as the answer to discriminatory practices (Forbes 1996; Chesler et al 2005; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Equality and diversity policies and practices appear ineffective and have not furthered the improvement of race discrimination on the agenda in the academy. Instead, it seems regressive with more attention being given to reactionary measures rather than a proactive approach. Subsequently, the neo-liberalism spiel of meritocracy valuing differences, hence discrimination disappears, is flawed (Ahmed 2007, 2012; Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Warmington 2012). The evidence from the findings and CRT supports the view that HEIs create a smokescreen which fails to question the reality and momentum of equality and diversity (Gillborn 2006b; Ahmed 2007).

Therefore, diversity is not acknowledged or valued and the White majority staff remain under-exposed to diverse realities (Alfred and Chlup 2010; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016). This persists as Black academics flee the academy (ECU 2015a), dysconscious racism escalates (King 2004; Delgado and Stefancic 2012) and the White majority become normalised to certain ways of behaving (Harris 1993; Anderson 2003). Consequently, staff and students face the possibility of becoming more racialised in the HEI environment, consciously or unconsciously furthering race discrimination (Delgado 1995; Ladson-Billings 2013).

The lack of senior academic sponsors to aid the progression of Black women is largely absent in the academy. Considering many Black academics are not in senior positions then White colleagues and managers would be expected to mentor and assist their progression. However, the presence of support structures or willingness of White senior academics to participate is not evidenced (ECU 2015a; *THE* University Workplace survey 2015, 2016; UCU 2016).

Black women remain discriminated against in more subtle ways than before (use of micro-aggressions and ‘dog-whistling’) and the White majority have constructed other covert ways of discriminating, which include using coded inferences and students (Palmer Cook 2012; Haney López 2014). From the experiences recounted by these Black women, it is clear that equality and diversity management does not work. Therefore, questions have emerged as to who is really being served by these policies, what real conversations are being had about racism and whether HEIs are actually capturing the effect upon minority groups (Creegan et al 2003; Ahmed 2012; Bhopal 2016).

#### *5.1.2 Research question two*

##### ***How has new managerialism influenced the way in which Black women view themselves as professionals in the academy?***

New managerialism has changed the nature of the relationship between academic managers, colleagues, students and these Black women resulting in changes being made to their professional selves (Mirza 2006; Henkel 2007; Barnett and di Napoli 2008).

New managerialism practices, underpinned with discrimination have taken a toll on these participants’ sense of self, “they’ve kept me down ... fighting to come up...stay down... I know who I am” (R15, 15 years; Business); “you’ve been battered...told ... not good enough” (R15, 15 years; Business). As professionals, they are being shaped and re-constructed in response to changes, challenges, power bases and the inequities of the academy, as well as their own coping strategies. Consequently, several versions of their academic selves have emerged (Ibarra 1999; Clegg 2008; Whitchurch 2009).

Re-constructing themselves however, has become a struggle because of the increasing complexity of their academic lives and their continued exclusion in certain areas of the academy (Nixon 2001; Kolsaker 2008; Winter 2009). Nevertheless, many have reflected upon their experiences in determining what constituted their best selves, as there is uncertainty as to how they are increasingly expected to behave and perform.

These participants reported having to cope with unfair demands and expectations of higher standards than their colleagues, “caucasians ...less qualified...being promoted into senior lectureship...with... not even a master’s degree” (R11, 19 years; Health and Social Sciences), and have been subject to more complaints from students. As a result, they have had more negative experiences than their White colleagues. Changing work roles along with heightened use of covert surveillance strategies have impacted their sense of well-being, collegiality and trust (Whitchurch and Gordon 2010; Watson 2009; Kinman 2014).

The effect of constant racial challenges and inferences has left the participants: weary, frustrated, stressed and more alert to subtleties of racism and other inequities, “I ...don’t trust my [White] colleagues” (R10, 16 years; Business). Consequently, they appeared vulnerable and fraught with anxiety and uncertainty, creating greater physical and emotional distance between themselves and their feelings about their work and their work environment (Kinman and Jones 2003; Kinman 2014). In the remainder of this section, I have identified how they perceive themselves in the academy through a CRT lens.

*Racism is endemic*

Discriminatory issues informed by dysconscious racism, differential treatment, hearsay, mis-perceptions and accusations made, impacted shifts in their roles from pure academics to academic-administrators and customer-service providers.

As academic-administrators, there were feelings of subjugation (Harris 1993) as they were mistaken for actual administrative workers, “it was assumed I was a secretary...that I was the student” (R6, 10 Years; Economics). There was evidence that administrators did not always consider their requests and instructions as seriously as they did those made by their White colleagues. Accordingly, they asserted themselves to be heard and when they did, it was mis-construed as aggression, “we can't be eloquent, we can't be outspoken, we can only be aggressive” (R17, 7 years; Health and Social sciences).

In providing customer services to students, they were often easy targets for blame when things went wrong, even from Black students. They were burdened with having to declare evidence of qualification and teaching competence regularly. Dominance appeared to be exerted over them by students, as normal behaviour (Harris 1993).

In protecting themselves, some of the participants became either more compliant or more resistant to the system knowing there was constant observation (Iedema et al 2006). Some re-shaped themselves and in doing this allowed them to be perceived as adapting readily to the norms of the academy, without challenge or obstruction and more likely to be accepted as an insider, “I even tell my Black colleagues, just keep quiet...if you stand out ...you will find yourself in a far worse situation” (R3, 17 years; Business).



Conversely, where there was resistance or challenge, issues or complaints made were trivialised by academic managers and participants stereotyped as aggressive or difficult (Ng et al 2012; Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

*Whiteness as property*

To prove themselves as insiders and remove feelings of marginalisation many believed they had to heighten their professionalism through for example, in their presentation of self, meeting deadlines, over-performance to a higher standard or in their personal development to be accepted. Their acceptance or non-acceptance was also based upon perceptions of their academic space, which was given in reflection of their perceived importance, their roles and themselves, by others. Therefore, a lack of any space or controlled space could be seen as depersonalisation, “I’m ... an outsider... just a number” (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing), or a sense of degradation occurring (Harris 1993; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

Their sense of professionalism prevailed in their appearances and presentation of themselves for acceptance. Therefore, many tried to re-create themselves for a better fit, ensuring for example, over-compliance with the HEIs’ norms and values and treatment of students. It appears that in accepting themselves as outsiders, an alternative route to insider status is created. However, there was evidence that trust and collegiality was eroded.

Many of the participants felt the need to be accepted by managers, colleagues, students and other academic stakeholders to be seen as insiders (Taylor 1994; Reynolds 2002). This they enabled, by ensuring credible reputations despite their feelings of being judged at higher standards than their White colleagues. Even though they felt this judgement

to be discriminatory, they believed it to be a necessary process for acceptance and visibility.

Manipulations were evidenced and endured by some in order to be accepted. Participants reported accounts of other Black women colleagues who had 'switched sides' and accepted powerful offers to drop complaints against the HEI. This implies the willingness of some of these women to yield to certain rewards regardless of the oppression experienced, for acceptance.

In being constantly reminded of their: race, position and capabilities the impact created was a perpetual sense of being marginalised, not trusted, unsupported, frustrated and humiliated. However, a few still felt fortunate to even have a job despite these negative reminders, "they just talk at you ...you just take it: yes sir, yes sir, three bags full ...for fear of losing your job" (R8, 16 years; Business and Computing). This behaviour may have been a coping or survival strategy.

#### *Interest convergence*

In being stereotyped as race experts or specifically ethnically paired to act as mentors, role models and even counsellors (Ortiz-Walters and Gilson 2005; Blake-Beard et al 2011) highlighted the worldview of the dominant group, as being so embedded it contributed to further biases being spread. Therefore, some felt that they were subsequently forced into accepting these roles without question. Conversely, there was a sense of satisfaction gained in being able to support and mentor Black students, achieving convergence of their own interests and reciprocated by the student in being the preferred and desired mentor, "Black students...can identify with who we are and we identify with them..., threatening to other [White] colleagues because we connect in a different way" (R13, 10 years; Health and Social Sciences).

In the absence of actual support, many of the participants reported feeling isolated and having to locate their own mentors and support for career progression (ABS 2014; ECU 2015a; *THE* University Workplace survey 2015, 2016). Alternative support was achieved via networking outside their HEIs with other Black women, sponsors or via supportive professors, to ensure their own professional interests were being satisfied and raising their confidence levels (ECU 2015a). This unconventional support is seen as positive, active, social and valued to the participants.

### *Intersectionality*

Intersectional areas such as gender, age and even perceptions of intelligence have played a part in shaping them in the academy (Crenshaw 1991, 2001; Shields 2008; Dill and Zambrana 2009; Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Many of the participants have placed a greater emphasis in identifying with their race not their gender. Since the academy tends to focus on single issues whilst ignoring other factors such as gender or age, it limits the HEI's ability to address specific issues. Thus, questions are raised as to how equality and diversity policies are actually embracing all aspects of differences, "the system turns out who has won ...White male" (R5, 11 Years; Business and Economics), whilst simultaneously not diluting racism and blurring their sense of how they are really being seen by others (Cho et al 2013).

### *5.1.3 Section summary*

New managerialism and the balance of power being given to managers to micro-manage, students as customers, the demise of collegiality, administrators abdicating responsibility to academics, all with discriminatory tones has appeared to contribute in creating multiple academic selves. Some are deep-rooted and permanent, others

provisional, as the participants become cognisant of their struggle and how to play the academic game.

The constant challenges and battles have proven wearisome to many of the participants and have left them coping with stress and emotional exhaustion as constant blame turns quickly to self-doubt and falling confidence levels. In re-negotiating or re-interpreting their roles and themselves, the participants appear transient as they struggle to locate the most relevant versions of themselves in the academy. For many of them, their roles and selves are being socially constructed and a matter of academic politics, which in turn determines and impacts their visibility, development, promotion and progression in the academy.

## **5.2 Limitations of the Study**

I have identified a number of limitations in my study:

- Firstly, in focusing on just English post-1992 HEIs I have limited the range of experiences of new managerialism that could have been collected across the UK in various other university types, for example the Russell Group or other pre-1992 HEIs. The participants involved in this study have all come from post-1992 HEIs located in the south east and eastern parts of England. This was not intentional but based upon how the sample snowballed.
- A second limitation of this study was through adopting a purposive sample, my participants were drawn unintentionally from the business, education or health faculties of their HEIs. The range could have been broadened to include Black women in other academic faculties, thereby covering a wider range of academic disciplines and opening up the study to more varied role/departmental/faculty experiences. Although it

would have been interesting to gain experiences from other university faculties, this would be dependent on where Black female academics reside in HEIs and their university type. According to ECU (2015) Black<sup>30</sup> staff numbers were highest in: business and management studies (210); nursing and allied health professions (180); clinical medicine (145) education (90); law (70) and health and community studies (70). The lowest numbers were in areas such as anthropology, history, agriculture with fewer than five Black staff members and non-existent in areas such as archaeology, classics and area studies. However, the ECU data was not separated by gender so numbers of females were not discernible.

- Thirdly, this was a small-scale study covering five universities and included seventeen participants. Therefore, the findings cannot be seen as representing the views of all Black female academics in the English academy. Utilising a snowball sample also restricted the number of Black staff who could be accessed and were willing to participate in the study. Having a small sample size means that the findings though in-depth cannot be generalised and/or considered to represent the experiences of all Black female academics in post-1992 HEIs.
- Fourthly, my study collected data from academics who had only worked in the English academy. In widening my focus to include Black female international academics who had worked overseas before coming to the UK academy, could potentially have revealed very different experiences (including that of racism) and perceptions of their professional selves.

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<sup>30</sup> ECU (2015), define Black as Black Caribbean, Black African, Black British and Black other.

- The fifth limitation to the study was that I needed to exercise a careful balance over the data to ensure the views of my participants were fully and accurately presented. Maintaining this balance was challenging to me as there was a danger that my prevalent values took priority over other perspectives on the data (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). I had to exercise greater control over issues to do with race as I felt I knew exactly what the participants meant and might therefore have been mistaken. I had to ensure that other areas were considered as they surfaced and not simply the ones I favoured more.
- Lastly, in interviewing people known to me and who were aware of my research created awkwardness at times as their body language sometimes revealed frustration or being overly keen in trying to anticipate my next question. I was aware of the participants sometimes wanting to direct me to answering their own questions and not mine.

### **5.3 Study Implications**

My findings did not reveal anything more about new managerialism that was not already known. However, significant insight was found on the varied and furtive ways in which racism was being experienced by Black women academics, negating equality and diversity values and policies. Consequently, my study supports the argument for a change in the neo-liberal approaches to equality and diversity management in HEIs.

Racism appears to be present in the academy in routine situations, behaviours and processes, despite its promotion of policies of equality and diversity. However, in the creation and promulgation of these policies, HR is hindered from informing and overseeing the real task of implementation and review. These policies appear robust, allowing many HEIs to boast

gender and race equality charter-marks<sup>31</sup> in recognition of good practice and therefore promoting them as diverse and multi-cultural institutions.

Nevertheless, the harsh daily reality for Black women signifies that there is a gap between the official HEI narrative and their experiences. If equality and diversity values are not fully integrated and embedded into all HR policies, for example in recruitment and selection, performance review and in routine activities such as interviewing, there cannot be effective change. My study raises a number of implications for HEIs as well as for their HR departments.

### *5.3.1 Implications for HEIs*

Improving race issues does not appear to be prioritised or furthered in the academy. Rather, what has been evidenced is a number of ways in which there has been surreptitious evolution of policies preventing growth, development and progression of minority ethnic groups, as well as avoidance of issues to do with race. Care must be taken in not just doing more equality and diversity, rather, the stress must be on doing it more effectively. Exactly how, is set out in the following areas:

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<sup>31</sup> ECU's Athena SWAN Charter was established to encourage and recognise commitment to advancing the careers of women in science, technology, engineering, maths and medicine (STEMM) employment in higher education and research and now expanded to recognise for example, work undertaken in arts, humanities, social sciences, business and law. The charter now recognises work undertaken to address gender equality more broadly, and not just barriers to progression that affect women. Institutions can apply for a Bronze or Silver SWAN award, depending on their level of progress.

ECU's Race Equality Charter (REC) provides a framework for improving the representation, progression and success of minority ethnic staff and students within higher education. Member institutions develop initiatives and solutions for action, and can apply for a Bronze or Silver REC award, depending on their level of progress. Source: [http://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charters\\_2016](http://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charters_2016)

### *Voice*

New managerialism has been demonstrated as divisive and has additionally morphed to impact the expression of voice in the academy. It would appear that academic staff, despite their high levels of intellect, qualification and the development of a critical mindset, have become infantilised and now require permission to speak, to explore and to challenge issues within their working environment. This danger of voicelessness, constitutes a risk to all academics in the academy not just Black people.

New managerialism has placed a higher focus on for example, student satisfaction, league tables and cost efficiencies, therefore removing the focus on issues to do with EDI. In raising and pursuing issues of inequality and discrimination, it would thus take a heroic manager to challenge inequities for fear of the consequences of doing so. This may also present challenges to their sense of being academic professionals themselves juggling efficiency, quality and ethical issues simultaneously. Academics, used to autonomy and degrees of academic freedom in complying with hard managerialism and not resurrecting their voice, may face further dilution and deprofessionalisation as inherently held EDI values and expectations are stripped away. Nonetheless, it is important for academics and particularly senior managers to regain their voice and develop courage in challenging the inequity of new managerialism from within.

### *Publish diversity statistics*

HEIs remain codified by class, gender and race. By having a nuanced understanding of Black people's current positions, in terms of historical links to slavery, colonisation and imperialism and how they become stereotyped and negatively positioned as a result, will provide more insight and understanding of perceptions of EDI in the academy. With such



understanding there is therefore scope for HEIs to become more radical and bold in their interventions for EDI. Instead of reliance on the ECU or HESA statistics, as a first step in being bold individual HEIs need to take ownership and full responsibility in publishing their own diversity statistics. Each HEI should publish on its website or other public place, the demographic composition of staff to promote the diverse reality of the HEI in a transparent way, instead of relying on bland diversity statements and photographs. Data would be released, publicising the numbers of Black staff and their positions in the HEI. This could influence and attract potential applicants from under-represented groups in choosing where to work or where to study. Applicants would make their choice based upon the HEI's *diversity ranking*, forcing other HEIs facing increasing market pressures, to make available or change their own rankings. It is however questionable, whether HEIs would be brave enough to take this line of action.

### *Recruitment: Quota systems and affirmative action*

A quota system (numerical requirements for recruitment, selection and promotion of academics from minority ethnic groups) as a means of addressing under-representation and diminishing racial discrimination and evident racism against Black academics may be implemented. However, this is indeed a radical suggestion as there is no legislation in the UK to support this approach. In taking a maximalist approach HR and senior management could actively encourage minority ethnic representation at every level of management, including senior management. In this way, HEIs would be forced to think more about where staff voices are positioned and how they can be best used. It also forces an inward look at why there are not more layers of representation for Black academics. However, this may become the subject of debate, as challenges of reverse discrimination and divisiveness may surface. There would also be issues

of the HEIs position as a public sector organisation, in putting this innovation forward. In accepting quotas, new legislation would have to be introduced and the consequential re-evaluating of percentages would be expected after changes of racial ratios in the sector.

Affirmative action may address issues raised by participants in the study, which may mean ripping up the existing ineffective policies in providing fair access to employment opportunities for minority ethnic groups as a means of creating a workforce reflective of the demographics of the qualified available workforce in the academic job market.

However, both these areas may raise issues of meritocracy that the academy purports to embrace, as individuals (primarily White staff – based on the findings of this research) that would normally be favoured based on their individual achievements, would be displaced. Issues of reverse discrimination would possibly surface from White staff who perceive themselves as being disadvantaged by the process because of a quota system or affirmative action preferring minority ethnic applicants.

### *Minority ethnic shortlists and reserved seats*

In ensuring that minority ethnic academics are properly represented in the academy, a minority ethnic shortlist for promotion, development and career progression could be constituted. This shortlist would increase the number of minority ethnic academics and raise their positions in the academy. Such shortlists could break down prejudices that impede the selection of Black academics and discourage them from offering their candidacy. An increase in Black academics in varying positions in the academy can bring increased priority to issues such as EDI. Additionally, the increased numbers of Black academics at different levels and greater focus on EDI concerns, are likely to result in increased support for the HEI from potential students intent on studying at an institution with more diverse staff (similar

to themselves) and opportunities to network more and seek out role models. Having a minority ethnic shortlist may make it easier for Black academics to be selected in non-minority ethnic short-list seats, which may over time give rise to a second Black woman as VC<sup>32</sup>.

Reserved seats could also be established in order to ensure the rights of minority ethnic academics are preserved at senior levels of the organisation when academic and organisational issues are being debated and determined. However, people who endorse EDI, may like the idea of it in principle, yet at the same time they may not be as willing to take the extreme steps or the *titanic interventions* necessary, to achieve real equality and equity of outcome in the academy.

### *Effective equality and diversity leadership*

Dedicated leadership and vision to drive the strategy culminates in the creation of responsible equality and diversity policies and strategies in HEIs. Senior management must intrude and participate in the planning and implementation process of equality and diversity initiatives. They must be firm in demanding specific contributions from each faculty, which complements the HEI's overall vision for equality and diversity, coupled with an insistence that progress reports are regularly submitted, creating transparent and active policies.

### *Cultural change*

A closer focus on workplace behaviour and in establishing a culture making everyone responsible for appreciating differences is needed in HEIs. An inclusive environment means changing structures, policies and systems to support equality and diversity. A supportive environment

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<sup>32</sup> Baroness Valerie Amos joined as Director (VC) of SOAS, University of London in September 2015.

includes the identification and notification to relevant personnel of any discriminatory attitudes affecting decision-making and action at different institutional levels. Such support enabled through equality and diversity briefings, campus wide symposiums, development opportunities and equality, diversity and leadership training programmes can heighten awareness. These initiatives are relevant for all staff, however some may be more relevant for those in leadership roles.

### *Ownership of equality and diversity*

It is apparent that those perpetuating racism in HEIs may be doing so consciously or unconsciously. All staff must take responsibility (includes reporting) and be accountable (not turning a blind eye) for equality and diversity. All managers, relevant staff as well as HR staff need to keep transparent records of how for example recruitment and selection, performance management and promotion and reward processes are handled and their outcomes.

### *Effective communication*

Communication is the key to diversity success and requires cultivating an open culture based on honest dialogue, active listening and feedback on agreed actions. As part of an effective communication strategy, necessary consultation with staff for ideas is instrumental to communicate information on the progress being made. Lasting conversations must take place on equality and diversity issues both present and buried, between those most affected by the policies as well as those responsible for its design and ethical application, to ensure a clear message is transmitted in examining deep-seated assumptions.

### *Workplace behaviour*

Organisational values of respect and dignity need to be introduced and all staff made personally responsible for upholding the standards desired. Mechanisms for dealing with intolerable behaviours must be clearly articulated and consequences for contravening this code of behaviour made known. It is important that allegations made are not trivialised by managers, HR staff or colleagues.

### *5.3.2 Implications for HR*

Equality and diversity strategies need to be constructed so that they are meaningful and effective and seek to improve under-representation and unfair treatment. All HR policies must be reviewed to ensure equity and fairness is fully integrated into them and not just included as an afterthought. HR staff must network with other HEIs so definitive benchmarks for improved practice can be established, prioritised and fully supported by the senior management team.

### *Training, development and ensuring equal access*

Training on how to integrate equality and diversity concepts and practices into training and learning programmes is necessary in promoting diversity awareness. HR staff, managers and other HEI staff must have full understanding of the spirit and the letter of the law relating to access to opportunities for training, promotion and other forms of development. Opportunities must not be communicated in ways that could exclude or reduce the numbers of applicants from minority ethnic groups. Staff must know how to access information about development opportunities and how to apply for them. Selecting individuals should go through a fair and transparent process subject to regular monitoring to ascertain the diversity of the process.

### *Communication*

I believe that questions must first be raised as to the accessibility of HR staff for those wishing to have sensitive conversations about racial issues. In gaining access, are staff confident to voice issues that will be heard, taken seriously and followed-up? What happens when staff remain quiet about their experiences and why do they stay quiet? It will be interesting to know what questions HR staff are familiar with hearing.

### *Monitoring, feedback and review*

The ultimate part of managing equality and diversity effectively is to measure, review and reinforce its contribution. This can be achieved by regularly auditing, reviewing and evaluating progress and keeping qualitative data to chart progress. It is important to track actions to see if they have had the intended results and to make appropriate changes if needed. It is useful to benchmark against other HEIs to remain diversely competitive providing HESA is able to generate detailed data from all universities. There is scope for HEIs to share information and learning on the diversity changes and behaviours enabled, to remove deep-seated insularities and work collectively to improve the experiences of minority groups.

### *HR staffing*

As policy writers, HR's role becomes significant in ensuring that the policies are not just robust but are being fully adhered to and are ethically executed. Consequently they need to have recourse to their professional and ethical codes of conduct as espoused by their professional body (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development), in developing a diversity mind-set. They need to ensure they are appropriately qualified to: write, critically review, collect, interpret and present feedback on equality and diversity issues in a professional manner. They need to undertake a

critical and reflexive review of their own performance, inviting views from their stakeholders in making improvements to the services they provide.

It is not enough to presume that HR staff are suddenly able to constitute sound policies and some thought must be given to how their knowledge and understanding of HR matters is acquired. Chartered membership of the CIPD is obtained through achieving level seven qualifications (post-graduate) in Human Resource Management (HRM), accompanied by additional evidence of HRM insights, strategy, solutions and leading HR consistently and sustainably over a minimum period of three years. As chartered members, HR staff would be expected to participate in continuous professional development, networking at branch meetings and in attending development seminars.

### *Teaching EDI*

Further questions are then raised about those qualified to teach HR practitioners and their body of knowledge and ethical understanding of HR issues. Consequently, how does teaching about equality and diversity become affected and effective?

When considering the place of Black staff in HEIs, questions also arise as to the extent of consideration being given by the professional body for HRM (the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development), in having a tighter focus and emphasis on EDI and its impact from all perspectives. Practitioners and students are taught how to write the document but chances are there is no feedback captured as to its effectiveness. How then can the importance of EDI and its sensitivities be transferred and acknowledged into the teaching environment fully, for new student-practitioners seeking professional membership of the CIPD and for their effective application in their own organisations? Are the numbers being captured and would they be willing to place their organisation's diversity density figures on their website?

### *5.3.3 Implications for Black female academics*

This research has led to the conclusion that it is important for Black female academics who did or did not participate in this study, to acknowledge that it is unfair, unacceptable and unnecessary to be subject to, or tolerate racism in any form. Black female academics need to be able to locate their racial experiences and have open conversations with colleagues, managers and HR staff, about their experiences to prevent anger and stress from accumulating. They need to be critical of their situation and their Institutional policies, providing feedback for improvement and understanding in constructive ways. In doing so, they too can help to prevent further perpetuation of racism in the academy.

### *Collective action*

There is strength in numbers and it may be necessary for Black female academics to collaborate in re-constructing images of themselves that move away from the stereotypes and descriptions that have been externally constructed.

Finding their voices means being brave enough to speak their truths, and this can be done with the support of other Black women, ensuring that racism is never a silent secret.

## **5.4 Future Research Areas**

Building on the findings, the research limitations and implications in this study, this section suggests a number of areas for future research.

1. HEIs and HR staff need to review the impact of their equality and diversity policies. In this way, real measures can be achieved and areas opened up for further scrutiny, discussion and investigation rather than simple revision and imposition of policies. It would be useful



in re-examining their policies that they are critiqued and analysed to identify their perpetuation of racism. There is scope to include HR analytics in such research to better understand the impact evidence (if it does exist) of these policies and procedures.

2. HR staff can use individual and raw experiences captured in this study as additional data to reinforce other typical HR data such as staff surveys. Typical surveys do not work at the same level, and tend to focus on quantitative outcomes and measures, therefore, do not always provide a real indication of the problems experienced.

It is possible that HR can encourage staff to come forward with their views via interviews, focus groups or individual discussions across the different departments to identify areas of commonality and differences. A study like this, and the experiences captured has potential to suspend disbelief of racism and can be used to facilitate equality and diversity changes proactively.

3. In many HEIs, academic grade and seniority determines whether you are included on equality and diversity committees. Given that senior staff tend to be mostly White men and many Black women reside at lower levels in the academy, a fair representation of panel members becomes challenging to source. Representation is needed from different levels in the institution as well as across the departments.

HR needs to review how academics are encouraged to participate and at what grade levels are they invited to be sufficiently representative. In constituting effective panels, decision-making powers need to be considered and given to these committees so relevant actions can be taken in a timely manner.

4. Using the different tenets of CRT may constitute a different way of examining issues of EDI in a detailed way and from different

perspectives. Through White people (as policy writers) using CRT, race could still be emphasised as the focal point of analysis in critiquing liberalism and placing an emphasis on Black or BME people. This approach would introduce a *magic mirror* into the heart of the academy to show how HEIs, senior managers and HR, really think about its minority ethnic employees and how they are treated, whilst allowing for a deeper interrogation of institutional racism in the academy, and what needs to be done at a senior level and from a HR perspective to address it.

5. My use of CRT has given voice to the marginalised, through the use of their counter stories about their experiences in academia under new managerialism. As an approach CRT made transparent, real conversations and experiences about the ineffectiveness of EDI in the academy. CRT can subsequently be used as a method of analysis and in providing victims of racism with their own platform to be heard and to be taken seriously by HE managers, against the common misconceptions held.

In future research storytelling can be used to start and disseminate sensitive conversations about experiences of racism, analyse myths, assumptions about race and invariably, develop a critical standpoint to examine racism and the ways in which HEI EDI policies have contributed to White people being the main beneficiaries of current EDI legislations. This approach opens up the discussion to challenge and critique of the perceived placebo of neo liberalism present in the academy. Importantly, in any research CRT would need to be used strategically when examining and challenging White employment benefits as part an integral part of White privilege is that Whiteness is viewed as normal or neutral, and therefore deserving of the advantages accrued.

## **5.5 Contribution to the Field**

The findings from this study can play an important role in a number of ways.

### *5.5.1 Empirical insight*

This study's exploration of new managerialism through the experiences of a small group of Black women will provide empirical insight of how they have been affected. The study has found that universities and their espousing of neo-liberalist policies have not improved the academic environment of Black women as the institutional discourses suggest. Equality and diversity management and championed areas such as fairness and meritocracy are not being experienced by all staff in the academy and in particular, Black women. Therefore, this study provides a challenge to the HEIs' policies of equality and diversity where race appears (by law) as a protected characteristic.

### *5.5.2 Prevalence of racism under new managerialism*

This study has exposed that racism is endemic, more deeply embedded than expected and manifested in a variety of subtle and coded ways. Therefore, there is a need for HEIs to re-examine cultures, structures and staff within HEIs for explanations. Using the experiences in this study is one way in which staff awareness and conversations about racism can be created. In talking about racism in this way, I am opening up the academy to greater scrutiny on how racial issues are being perceived and experienced by non-White academics.

### *5.5.3 Exposing failure of equality and diversity policies*

Despite differences in historical race relations and policies in the USA and the UK, there remains commonality of expressions of racism regardless of race relations or location. This expression manifesting as a result of the dysconscious assumptions White people have of Black people. The study evidences that new managerialism's neo-liberalist policies of equality and

diversity management are ineffective. Experiences of these Black women as beneficiaries of the policies have suggested that they are not being reached by these policies, despite there being increases to the numbers of Black minority staff in post-1992 universities. The participants believe that issues of race are not really being addressed nor have real changes being made. Further research could extend knowledge in this area.

### *5.5.4 Applicability of CRT to English HEIs*

Being able to analyse and interpret the experiences of Black women in the UK through a CRT lens was novel. Previous studies using CRT have almost all been undertaken in the USA with a focus upon students and leadership in schools. In the UK to date, there has been exploration using CRT in education but limited to Black students or BME staff in general in HE (see Housee 2008; Hylton 2009, 2012). My research is the first doctoral study to focus on Black female academics in HE using CRT and HRM perspectives.

The application of CRT to Black women's experiences has allowed for a more critical and layered understanding of dimensions of race discrimination in the academy. Experiences of racism have been unpacked more, with each tenet bringing a different perspective to the discussion. For example, in exploring their progression in the academy, the endemic nature of racism surfaced and incorporated elements of dog-whistle politics but also revealed intersections with the property expectations of position and place. Therefore, furthering HEI's real aim of interest-divergence as opposed to convergence and proving advantageous to the White majority. The use of CRT reveals the more subtle and sophisticated ways in which discrimination is furthered in the academy.

#### *5.5.5 CRT revitalising equality, diversity and inclusion*

Race inequity and racism have been exposed in this study as integral features of the English HE system. The study revealed how inequalities in the academy have contributed to institutional and structural racism which have been used to the advantage of White people and disadvantage of Black people. CRT is therefore crucial in exploring how and why minority ethnic people remain marginalised and disadvantaged in the academy, despite the proliferation of endless EDI documents by HR and senior management. Through CRT it is clear that institutional racism and inequality cannot be simply remedied and removed by the construction of even more documents, happy pictures of Black and White people and the acquisition of countless equality charter marks.

This study makes a contribution in demonstrating how CRT can be used systematically to examine the impact of EDI policies, often constructed from a White perspective, in actually serving those it is intended for in the academy. CRT can therefore be used to examine EDI policy making and its failings, in relation to the experiences of Black women or BME groups in general. In addition, because of the value and importance attached to Whiteness in the academy, CRT is a significant and rational tool, for deconstructing ineffective EDI structures and processes, and illuminating a different perspective on White supremacy and power in the academy and the everyday language used to conceal racism. Used in this way, CRT holds possibilities to resurrect deeper and further interrogation of the consequences for Black staff of EDI in the academy.

#### *5.5.6 Contribution to HR education and practice*

This study also makes a more practise-based contribution to human resource development in having the potential to contribute to the education and socialisation of other professional and non-professional groups in HEIs. The study allows me, as an academic to share these experiences with my

professional HRM students as a means of furthering their own knowledge and understanding of the reality of equality and diversity in organisations and encouraging further discussion, debate and research. I am able to share these findings with my professional body (CIPD) through seminars and publication. My own HEI will be a beneficiary of these findings, enabling them to understand issues of race discrimination in their midst and how they could begin to address this issue.

## **5.6 Final Reflections**

Research is never neat or tidy and doing a PhD over six years has required hard grit on my part. I have undertaken this study in a developmental way, doing it sometimes wrongly, before making it right. As a result, I am more learned and informed about undertaking research.

I have observed how others (supervisors, colleagues, friends and family) have viewed me throughout this process with patience, frustration, surprise and even elation. They have witnessed how my knowledge, understanding and behaviour have changed over the years.

I knew as a Black academic that I wanted discussions about Black lives in the academy to be promoted more, in the hope that our workplace experiences would be known, shared and discussed, providing me with an opportunity to empathise with other Black women in the academy. In exploring their experiences of new managerialism even though they were Black women, I did not expect racism to be such a dominant face of new managerialism.

I was reluctant to make the study about race, however racism became far too evident in my findings for me to ignore. Consequently, I have learned about critical race theory and how it can be applied in the analysis of racial issues. I now have a deeper understanding of CRT and its use in exploring

layers of discrimination in a variety of settings. I am now more aware of the refined ways in which racism surfaces, and indeed more alert and mindful of its manifestations.

My own identity became more pronounced. As a Black female academic working in HE for a number of years, I too had accumulated experiences but never had time to sit with others to share my experiences or to make sense of what was happening. In sharing and discussing my findings with groups of both White and Black colleagues I noticed their positions sometimes became different. White colleagues were shocked, embarrassed, apologetic and sometimes dismissive. Black colleagues thought they were isolated and were relieved knowing their experiences were not imagined.

Reflexivity was always present in my daily life but never captured in such a detailed way. I have learned the importance of transparency of thought and how keeping a diary can remind me of issues long forgotten. I have learned the importance of being brave enough to have regular critical conversations with others: sharing my work and its weaknesses, in order to make improvements and develop my defence of the study.

In developing a network of other Black academics through this research, I have been invited to several seminars and events of interest. I have been involved in offering some of the participants other academic opportunities as they have arisen, allowing their presence and contribution to be made more visible.

As a fellow of my professional body (CIPD) and an academic teaching HR professionals, there are now other ways in which I can help them to drive equality and diversity management further forward in UK organisations. The study will influence my teaching by ensuring that equality and diversity is an integral part of all assessment criteria. Indeed, it features within many of my HRM units, however, it is an ethical issue that all students need to be mindful of. In working with other HR professional members, my voice

and debates around this issue will be heard in a much wider forum with the potential to impact upon national discussions.

This research has provided me with greater self-confidence to champion and defend my work, understanding that others may have a different perspective.

Black women contribute to creating a more diverse academy in terms of their research and teaching talent and I now wait for the policy makers to acknowledge their contribution and the value brought to the academy.

To other Black female scholars, know this as I know now: we are not alone on the outside of conversations, on the periphery of the academy and in being constantly watchful. There are many more supportive voices and this is one more step forward in our long journey.

This study has disturbed me, made me more critical, proved highly experiential and insightful to me and I would not have done it differently.

I have fought the good fight, I have finished my thesis and I have kept my faith (adapted from 2 Timothy, 4:7).



## **6. LIST OF APPENDICES**

**Appendix A: Interview Questions**

**Appendix B: Participant Consent Form**

**Appendix C: Interview Summary Form**

## Appendix A

### Interview Questions

#### **Section A:** Background information

1. Name of respondent: Contact Number:
2. Ethnicity:
3. Name of current HEI:
5. Length of time in current HEI:
6. Total Length of service in HEI?
7. Highest educational qualification
8. Teaching qualification?
9. Member of HEA?
10. Current role in your institution?
11. What subject do you teach/have taught?
12. Previous job before teaching?

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#### **Section B:** Context of HEIs/Managerialism/Experiences in HE

13. Can you describe the changes you have experienced over the last 7+ years that have impacted upon your role as an academic? What have you experienced? Examples?
  - *When did you begin to notice the changes?*
  - *What has been the reason for this/these changes?*
  - *Who is responsible for these changes?*
14. How has this affected the execution of your work?
  - *What have you had to do differently? More/less of?*
  - *What sacrifices (if any) have been made?*
15. What other tasks and duties have you been asked to do that previously

would not have been your responsibility?

- *Why is it not your responsibility? What are you more accountable for?*

16. What pressures are there in your working environment that impacts your performance as an academic?

17. Are the expectations placed upon you, by your employers achievable within your current working environment?

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**Section C:** Professionalism/experiences as a Black woman/*impact of changes*

18. I Appreciate race/gender might be difficult to discuss, but to what extent do you think your race or gender has impacted your experiences of the changes?

19. What do you think is the current role of a Black woman academic?

- *Has this changed from the past role of academics?*

- *How do you perceive your role now?*

20. What does professionalism mean to you as a Black woman?

- *Define....*

21. How are you defined/considered a professional as a Black woman?  
how do you know?

- *What core characteristics/qualities do you have that defines you as a professional? Changes you have had to make?*

22. Are there any other comments you would like to make in relation to being a Black woman in the academy?

## Appendix B

### Participant Consent Form

Consent for participation in a research interview into experiences of new managerialism in the English Academy.

I agree to participate in a research project by Janice Johnson from the University of Bedfordshire in England. The purpose of this document is to specify the terms of my participation in the project through being interviewed.

	Consent Statements	Please tick, if agreed
1	I have been given sufficient information about this research project. The purpose of my participation as an interviewee in this project has been explained to me and is clear.	
2	I understand that the project is designed to gather information about new managerialism in English post-1992 universities. I will be one of approximately fifteen to twenty people being interviewed for this research.	
3	My participation as an interviewee in this project is voluntary. There is no explicit or implicit coercion whatsoever to participate	
4	The interview will last approximately forty-five minutes to one hour. I allow the researcher to take written notes during the interview. I also allow the digital recording of the interview. It is clear to me that if I do not want the interview to be recorded, I am entitled to withdraw from participation at any point.	
5	If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.	
6	I understand that I will not be identified by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Information gathered and its subsequent use will be subject to data protection policies and protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.	
7	I understand that this study has been reviewed and approved by the Business and Management Research Institute (BMRI) Ethics Committee of the University of Bedfordshire. If there are concerns about this research the BMRI Ethics Committee may be contacted through the Research Graduate School, University of Bedfordshire, University Square, Luton, Bedfordshire, LU1 4LE.	
9	I have read and understood the statements of this form and the explanations provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.	
10	I have been given a copy of this consent form co-signed by the interviewer.	

## Appendices

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I (Participant name) ..... voluntarily  
consent to take part in the above research project.

Participant Signature..... Date: .....

Researcher signature: ..... Date: .....

All parties signing the Consent Form must date their own signature.

Should you have any concerns or questions regarding the research project, or the way that it is being conducted that you wish to raise independent to the researcher please contact the Head of the Research Graduate School, University of Bedfordshire, University Square, Luton, Bedfordshire, LU1 4LE.

**APPENDIX C**

**Interview Summary Form**

Interviewee:

Contact number:

Date:

Time:

Location:

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1. Main issues and themes that struck me in this interview.
  
2. Information I got/failed to get on target questions.
  
3. Anything else that was salient, interesting, illuminating or important in this interview.
  
4. What new/remaining target questions do I have in considering the next interview?
  
5. Reflective Notes:

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